R E P O R T   R E S U M E S

ED 015 522   24   EA 000 826

THE IRONY OF URBAN SCHOOL REFORM. IDEOLOGY AND STYLE IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS. FINAL REPORT.

BY- KATZ, MICHAEL B.

REPORT NUMBER CRP-S-085   PUB DATE 66

REPORT NUMBER BR-5-8183

EDRS PRICE MF-$1.50 HC-$15.76   392P.

DESCRIPTORS- *EDUCATIONAL CHANGE, *URBAN EDUCATION, ECONOMIC FACTORS, INDUSTRIALIZATION, MOTIVATION, PUBLIC EDUCATION, HIGH SCHOOLS, *EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION, COMMUNITY LEADERS, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, *RURAL URBAN DIFFERENCES, ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL, EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES, DELINQUENT REHABILITATION, CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION, FACTOR ANALYSIS, SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP, *HISTORICAL REVIEWS, CAMBRIDGE,

THE ORIGINS OF MASS POPULAR EDUCATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS ARE STUDIED IN TERMS OF THE RELATION BETWEEN REFORMER IDEOLOGY AND STYLE OF REFORM WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF FUNDAMENTAL ALTERATIONS IN THE LIFE CONDITIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS. THREE SIGNIFICANT EVENTS ARE ANALYZED IN DETAIL--(1) ABOLITION OF BEVERLY HIGH SCHOOL IN 1860, (2) ATTACK OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INSTRUCTION ON CYRUS PEIRCE, AND (3) CRITICISM OF THE STATE REFORM SCHOOL OFFERED BY SOME OF THE STATE'S LEADING REFORMERS. THE STUDY CONCLUDES THAT EDUCATIONAL REFORM WAS SPONSORED BY A COALITION OF THE SOCIAL AND FINANCIAL LEADERS OF MASSACHUSETTS, MIDDLE CLASS PARENTS, AND EDUCATORS. A FACTOR ANALYSIS OF RELEVANT VARIABLES IN THE HISTORICAL STUDY IS APPENDED. (HM)

5-3183

ED015522

THE IRONY OF URBAN SCHOOL REFORM,
Ideology and Style in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts

by

Michael B. Katz

United States Office of Education,
Cooperative Research Program,
Project S-085

Final Report
1966

EA 000 826

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

THE IRONY OF URBAN SCHOOL REFORM,

Ideology and Style in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts

by

Michael B. Katz

United States Office of Education,
Cooperative Research Program,
Project S-085

Final Report

1966

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

INTRODUCTION. Educational Reform: The Cloud of Sentiment and Historiography 1

I. The New Society 7
II. The New Education 18

PART ONE. Reform by Imposition: Social Origins of Educational Controversy 26

PROLOGUE: The Abolition of Beverly High School 26
I. Educational Promoters and the High School 36
II. Local Opposition to Reform 66
  1. Academies and Districts 66
  2. Groton, a Case in Point 82
  3. The Working Class against Reform 106
EPILOGUE: Lawrence, From "Model Town" to "Primary School of Vice" 122

PART TWO: The Uses of Pedagogy: Teachers and the Educational Process 152

PROLOGUE: The Heresy of Cyrus Peirce 152
I. Society's "hot stimulus to action" and the Necessity of Restraint 154
II. "The true idea of education" 166
III. "A new motive to moral excellence" vs. "emulation" . . . 176
EPILOGUE: "God's Gardener," Strategies of Teacher Mobility . 204

PART THREE. Compulsory Education and the Urban Delinquent: The State Reform School 214

PROLOGUE: Reformers against the Reform School 214
I. Delinquency and the Grading of Prisons 215
II. From "favorable impressions" to "imperfection of the stock": the Theory of Crime and Poverty 225
III. "At once a home and a school" 244
EPILOGUE: The Results of Reform 267

CONCLUSION. Educational Reform: Myths and Limits 279

Table of Contents (continued)

Page

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Massachusetts Social, Economic and Educational Statistics 287
APPENDIX B: Communities and Education, an Analysis of Variance 292
I. High School Defined 295
II. First Relationships 305
III. Factor Analysis 315
IV. Patterns of Variance 331
V. Conclusions and Limitations 340
APPENDIX C: Social Composition of High School Enrollment. . . 345
APPENDIX D: Beverly and the Vote to Abolish the High School: Relevant Statistics 348

BIBLIOGRAPHY 363

I. Notes 363
II. Sources 367

VITA 386

Acknowledgments

This study was made possible by the grant of a contract from the United States Office of Education. For this award I am deeply grateful. The statistical work involving a computer was supported by a National Science Foundation grant. For allowing me computer time under the grant I would like to thank Professor John B. Carroll. Throughout my stay at the Harvard Graduate School of Education the administration has provided tolerance, freedom, interest and very considerable financial support, and it has done so with the graciousness and generosity characteristic of its dealings with students. My thanks go especially to Associate Dean Edward Kaelber.

The librarians and school officials whose assistance I sought have been almost unfailingly helpful. In particular, I would like to thank Miss Ruth Hill of the Beverly Historical Society, whose eagerness to help scholars use the Society's fine collection should be imposed upon more often. Many friends and colleagues have patiently listened to me think out loud about this study over the past two years; a number have read drafts and sections; almost all have made helpful comments. They have my deepest thanks. Especially, I would like to thank Dr. Robert Dreeben and Dr. Allan Ellis for their very substantial assistance. My advisor and the sponsor of this project has been Dean Theodore R. Sizer; and the profitableness and pleasantness of my residence at H. G.S.E. has been due in no small part to his consideration and assistance. This study started as a paper in the seminar of Dr. Daniel Calhoun. Dr. Calhounhas since read every version and almost every draft of each section; he has, too, spent many hours discussing the study with me. His always penetrating and stimulating comments have helped give this study much of whatever merit it possesses. For all the help I have received I am most grateful. Of course, all errors, misinterpretations and other blunders that remain are entirely my own responsibility.

Finally, it is probably enough to say that my wife and children have suffered through life with an undergraduate as well as graduate student husband and father with more faith and patience than he himself has had.

Abbreviations

In the footnotes all references to the various annual reports of the Massachusetts Board of Education will be abbreviated and include only the number and the word "report," *e. g.*, *Nineteenth Report*. The full title would be *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education together with the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Secretary to the Board*. Report number one is dated 1838.

Reports of school committees from the same town changed titles frequently. Here they will be referred to in the manner of the following example:

Groton. . .1851-52, 1852, p.5.

Introduction. Educational Reform: The Cloud of Sentiment and Historiography

Americans share a warm and comforting myth about the origins of popular education. For the most part historians have helped to perpetuate this essentially noble story which portrays a rational, enlightened working class, led by idealistic and humanitarian intellectuals, triumphantly wresting free public education from a selfish, wealthy elite and from the bigoted proponents of orthodox religion.[1] This story squares poorly with the current trend in historical writing. More and more in recent years historians have attacked the notion that fundamental social controversy provided the dynamic of national development. Instead, they argue, the apparently opposing sides in past controversies represent but variations of a common consensus on fundamental principles.

But the consensus viewpoint applied to education satisfies no more than the older conflict version.[2] For a hard look at the myth of popular education and at realities which are common knowledge produces some glaring discrepancies and paradoxes. Everyone knows that for many years only a tiny proportion of eligible children went to high school. Yet the founding of the high school, in the conventional version, was a great achievement of popular democracy. Could there have been a ready consensus to establish expensive, minority institutions? Popular education, so the story goes, was an outgrowth of working class aspiration, but the estrangement between the culture of the school and the working class community has been lamented at least since the time of Dewey. Such an estrangement implies the existence of a deep cultural division throughout society. It seems to provide evidence to support the theories that stress social controversy, but it also runs counter to the idea of an education hungry working class.

---

[1] As an example of the standard version of educational reform in the mid-nineteenth century, one of the most widely read social histories of the period claims: "It was not until the common man became conscious of the privileges of which he had been deprived and used the suffrage he had acquired to demand education for his children that the state turned to a consideration of the common school. This movement was in accord with the humanitarianism of the time, and the reformers joined the workingmen in seeking remedies for the defects in the educational system." Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, Phases of American Social History to 1860, Minneapolis, 1944, p. 233.

Popular education, according to the myth, started in a passionate blaze of humanitarian zeal, but most large urban school systems since the latter nineteenth century have been cold, rigid and somewhat sterile bureaucracies. Could a truly humanitarian urge to help realize widely diffused aspirations have turned so quickly into the dispassionate ethos of red tape and drill? How are we to account for the discrepancies between myth and actuality? Are parts of the myth valid, parts untrue? To answer these questions and brush aside the cloud of

---

Massachusetts has applied the consensus interpretation to the events of the period. Jonathan Messerli, "Controversy and Consensus in Common School Reform," Teacher's College Record, May, 1965, pp. 749-758. Messerli suggests that the concept of fundamental educational controversy is not valid and that we must look upon educational history in this period more as the pragmatic efforts of individuals to meet certain glaring deficiencies in the provisions for learning and to alter the schools to meet new social obligations.

sentiment and historiography that covers the origins of mass, popular education we can start by asking a few direct and important questions: Were educational reform and innovation the product of working class demands? Were the more prominent supporters of popular education motivated by humanitarian and democratic concerns? Did educational reform entail fundamental social controversy?

I have asked these questions, which test the myths surrounding the origins of popular education, because I hope to suggest answers to larger questions that have relevance for educational reformers of our own time. Did the nature of the origins of popular education have lasting consequences for American society? Were these consequences, if any exist, beneficial or harmful? By coldly evaluating the reform movement of the mid-nineteenth century, can we learn anything of use to that of the mid-twentieth? Questions of influence and significance are the most dangerous for the historian; they are also the most fascinating and important. Certainly this study cannot hope to prove, in a hard and empirical sense, its conclusions regarding the impact of educational reform. Yet the results of a study of the mid-nineteenth century strongly suggest that the way in which popular education started--its social base, its ideology, its pace--had permanent consequences. And it is in the spirit of informed suggestion that my often harsh conclusions about the impact of the educational revival should be received.

Contemporaries had their own interpretation of educational reform. "It is a double decade more distinguished than any since the revival of letters for the diffusion of knowledge generally among the masses of men," George Boutwell wrote of the twenty years since the 1837 founding of the Massachusetts Board of Education.[3] In the last twenty-five years, asserted Judge Emory Washburn in 1864, "A new life. . . has been infused into the whole system of popular education here."[4]

As told by contemporaries the story was straightforward. "For nearly two hundred years our system of free schools was sustained directly by the people, without special care or direct aid from the government," the Board of Education reminded readers of their twentieth report. The enlightened consensus of pre-industrial society sustained popular education. "The people were then homogeneous; the sentiment in favor of education was universal; deficiencies in the schools, when they existed, were often supplied by instruction in the family. . ." The schools were not without faults; "there was little completeness of system or perfection of detail, yet the results were worthy of all praise."[5]

But the onset of urban, industrial growth destroyed the social basis of popular education; "a foreign and a manufacturing population came in; the labor of children became more valuable; in connection with the increase of population, the concentration of wealth, and the division of sects and of classes, numerous private schools sprang up, and it was found that the public schools were losing their efficiency, and the system itself its vitality." The decline of public education "alarmed patriotic and good men, and gave rise, in 1837, to the Board of Education." With zeal the Board and its secretaries, assisted by the Legislature, "labored to break up the former torpor, to introduce arrangement and system, and to secure for the subject of education that place and interest which it must have among a free people, if their institutions are to be either enjoyed or perpetuated."[6]

---

[3] Twentieth Report, pp. 35-36. Boutwell was the third secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

[4] Massachusetts Teacher, xvii, 1, January, 1864, p.34.

[5] Twentieth Report, p. 5.

Most contemporary chroniclers and later historians generally have agreed that the "revival" of education was a great success, that the fourth, fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century in Massachusetts witnessed the true beginning of the remarkable and continuous growth of mass popular education in America. The story of the early and mid-nineteenth century, historians in recent years have revealed, was by no means as unambiguous as it first seems. Underlying the extension of democracy symbolized by the election of Andrew Jackson, the nobility of the anti-slavery crusade, the remarkable transformation of an agrarian economy, the belief in the goodness of man and the reality of progress allegedly symbolized by Emerson: underlying these phenomena were haunting doubts, pervasive value conflicts and severe social tensions.[7] The movement for educational reform reflected the complexity of social development, for, as the Board of Education itself observed, education was deeply intertwined with the rest of society. To unravel the most important threads, to explicate the relationship between education and society, is one goal of this study.

---

[6] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

The Board of Education connected educational change with the building of factories, the growth of cities, the waves of immigration. But they left the nature of the connection vague. Was it that industrialism destroyed public education by dissolving its social basis? If so, what did educational leaders substitute for an enlightened, homogeneous, agrarian population? Did education itself play no part in the economic transformation of the Commonwealth? Were schoolmen only "patriotic and good," purely altruistic? Were the ends of education solely the enjoyment and perpetuation of democracy? Did the creation of new institutions and the rekindling of interest mean that the educational reform movement was a success? What was the relationship of goals to results? The goals of educational reform were formulated amidst a profound change in the conditions of human experience within Massachusetts, and it is against the backdrop of this change that all questions concerning the relation of education and society must be formulated.

---

[7] On the complexity of this era see: Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden, Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America, New York, 1964; Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion, first copyright, 1957, Vintage edition, 1960; William R. Taylor, Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character, New York, 1961; Arthur P. Dudden,

I. The New Society

"Industrialization" and "urbanization" are such common terms, they have so permeated discourse that they have become concepts, abstractions almost devoid of power, more often conjuring images of dull textbooks rather than the pains and tensions of human beings caught up in the creation of a new world. But to penetrate the meaning of events in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts quantitative measures of economic and social change must be considered not abstractions but expressions of a profound alteration in human experience. Statistics should serve as reminders that a generation, the very generation of educational reformers, watched the contours of society propelled, twisted and bent into radically new shapes, shapes that brought new forms to all aspects of the life of men, to their every relation.

Consider what happened during the life of Horace Mann, the most famous educational reformer of the time.[8] He was born in 1796, in the year John Adams was elected President; throughout his youth and young manhood about two-thirds of the people of Massachusetts lived in rural communities of less than three thousand scattered throughout the state. When he was fourteen years old, Massachusetts contained less than half a million people; between his fourteenth and thirty-fourth birthdays

---

"Nostalgia andthe Americans," Journal of the History of Ideas, XXII, 4, October-December, 1961, pp. 515-530.

[8] On the biography of Horace Mann see: Jonathan C. Messerli, "Horace Mann: The Early Years, 1796-1837," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

population increased slowly, by little more than a quarter.[9] Immigration was slow, the population ethnically homogeneous. Urban merchants financed trading operations covering much of the world. Farming was carried on as it had been for decades, clothes were made in the home, and the products of independent craftsmen supplemented the work of farming families. Throughout the state and nation most people assumed that the Massachusetts economy would continue to rest on commerce and agriculture.[10]

But Mann saw all this change. During the 1840's, throughout most of which he was secretary of the Board of Education, the population leaped by more than thirty percent; by the year following his death, 1860, Massachusetts had nearly a million and a quarter inhabitants. Mann watched the hordes of immigrants pouring into the Commonwealth. In the year that he was thirty-five slightly less than fifteen hundred aliens landed at Charlestown; nine years later the number had multiplied almost four times, fourteen years later almost eight times, eighteen years later almost nineteen times. And most of the newcomers, over seven out of ten in fact, were from Ireland; they brought new, strange and disturbing ways to the Commonwealth.[11] Under a swelling Celtic wave the homogeneous land of Yankees disappeared forever. Mann himself had moved from a small town to the city, and many of his contemporaries did likewise. The small, rural towns declined slightly as population became increasingly concentrated in urban areas. In southern New England the proportion of the population living in towns with fewer than three thousand residents declined from 67.1 percent in 1810 to 52.1 in 1840 to 30.1 in 1860. Throughout the same period the proportion of the population living in towns and cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants grew from 6.9 to 18.5 to 36.5 percent.[12]

---

[9] Tables showing relevant economic and population statistics are included in Appendix A. On population and its concentration see the illuminating article by Percy Wells Bidwell, "Population Growth in Southern New England, 1810-1860," Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association, New Series, No. 120, December, 1917, pp. 813 and 816.

[10] Samuel Eliot Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860, Boston, 1921; Caroline Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings, Cambridge, 1931, p. 118.

In Mann's youth merchants used the profits from their ventures to buy more ships, to invest in new trading enterprises. But the embargo imposed on foreign goods prior to the War of 1812 both fostered a shortage of manufactured goods, which had previously been imported, and reduced drastically the opportunity for investment in foreign trade. The combination of demand and the availability of capital stimulated the growth of native industry, particularly the manufacture of cotton cloth.[13] Throughout a large part of Mann's life, then, manufacturing grew in Massachusetts. But many of the early ventures, generally small and started without sufficient capital, failed by 1820. The years of most marked progress, the real onset of industrial growth, began around 1830, and the three decades from 1830 to 1860 saw the transformation of the economy of the state.[14] By the time Mann had been secretary of the Board of Education for eight years, in 1845, the value of the agricultural produce of the state was only thirty-four percent of the value of manufactured goods. Ten years later that figure had been halved. The early forties to the mid fifties was, indeed, a period of remarkable growth in manufacturing as well as in population and immigration. From 1845 to 1855 the yards of cotton cloth manufactured rose from 175,862,919 to 314,996,567 and their value, corrected for changes in price, rose likewise from nearly ten to nearly twenty-one million dollars.[15]

---

[11] Massachusetts Senate Documents, No. 2, January 1859, pp. 142-143; Francis DeWitt, Abstract of the Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. . .1855, Boston, 1857, pp. 230-233, and Oliver Warner, Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts. . .1860, Boston, 1863, p.335.

[12] Bidwell, op. cit., p. 816.

Manufacturing had its first great impact on the family. For generations New England girls had remained with their families until marriage. Now large numbers of farm girls left home to work in the mills of Lawrence, Lowell and other places.[16] Whole families moved to manufacturing areas and worked in the mills in the southern part of the state.[17] But immigration changed this pattern. The immigrants swelled the labor force and fostered competition for jobs, and the consequent lowering of wages tended to discourage native girls from working in the factories. The supply of native girls was diminished further by the westward migration of entire farm families. Moreover, as large numbers of Irish tended to enter the mills and factories, natives, who found the Irish repugnant, often left.[18] By the 1860's the unskilled work in the new large industries was mainly the province of immigrants. In the lifetime of Horace Mann, Massachusetts had acquired a proletariat.

---

[13] Ware, op. cit., pp. 50-63.

[14] Bidwell, op. cit., pp. 830-831, Ware, op. cit., p. 107.

[15] Computed from the statistics in John G. Palfrey, Statistics of the Condition and Products of Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts . . .1845, Boston, 1846; Francis DeWitt, Statistical Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts. . .1855; Boston, 1856; and Oliver Warner, Statistical Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts. . .1865, Boston, 1866. These will hereafter be referred to as the Censuses of Industry.

A new conception of work and a heightened sense of the power of man to transform his environment accompanied the development of manufactures. For the development of industry was fostered by technological innovation as well as by the increasing supply of labor. In the cotton industry the introduction of the power loom in 1824 initiated a shift from the small yarn mill to the large factory in which all the stages of the manufacturing process were gathered under one roof,[19] and after 1840 the introduction of the turbine provided the first big innovation in the source of power for the mills.[20] In 1826 the production of wool was stimulated by the invention of the Goulding condenser, a device for transfering the filaments of wool to the different machines in the manufacturing process; and the introduction of "self-acting mules" after 1840 increased the productivity of wool manufacture still further.[21] Similarly, the shoe industry was revolutionized: "first came mechanical devices for cutting and rolling leather, then pegging machines, and finally sewing machines--all introduced between 1840 and 1860."[22] With the new machines one man could do the work of scores using the old methods of production; "Indeed it would almost seem as though [man] were now but just entering on that dominion over the earth, which was assigned to him at the beginning."[23] Man ". . .is indeed, 'lord of creation'; and all nature, as though daily more sensible of the conquest, is progressively making less and less resistance to his dominion."[24] Unskilled labor and powerful machines were combined in manufacturing processes based on the division of labor. For many work no longer remained a craft, an acquired skill, an important part of a man's life; started instead was the process of the alienation of men from their work, the re-definition of work as the repetitive operation of a machine, the making of a motion that was only one small part of the production of a shoe, a piece of cloth, a rifle or a watch.

---

[16] Ware, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

[17] Ibid., p. 199.

[18] Ibid., pp. 228-232.

[19] Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, Washington, 1916, p. 429; Ware, op. cit., p. 63.

---

[20] Clark, op. cit., pp. 407-408.

[21] Ibid., pp. 423 and 434.

[22] Ibid., p. 441.

[23] Quoted in Marx, op. cit., p. 194.

[24] Quoted in ibid., p. 196.

Transportation as well as the machine revealed the new power of man over nature:

> Steam is annihilating space. . .Travelling is changed from an isolated pilgrimmage to a kind of triumphal procession. . .Caravans of voyagers are now winding as it were, on the wings of the wind, round the habitable globe. Here they glide over cultivated acres on rods of iron, and there they rise and fall on the bosom of the deep, leaving behind them a foaming wheel-track like the chariot-path of a sea-god. . .[25]

It was the railroad annihilating space rather than the steamship that immediately affected the life and economy of Massachusetts. Until Horace Mann was nearly forty years old no railroads existed in Massachusetts. Indeed, his work in the Massachusetts legislature helped to spur their advent. By the time he died, 1,264 miles of tracks crisscrossed the state.[26] Railroads carried raw materials to the new industries and marketed their finished products. They stimulated the development of suburbs, a new residential pattern. Within ten miles of Boston, where the commuting fare was economical, some places like Saugus were virtually created while others, like Lynn, grew phenomenally.[27]

---

[25] Quoted, loc. cit.

[26] Edward C. Kirkland, Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900, Cambridge, 1948, v. 1, p. 284.

[27] Charles Kennedy, "Railroads in Essex County a Century Ago," Essex Institute Historical Collections, XCV, 2, April, 1959, p. 142.

No aspect of life in Massachusetts remained in 1860 as it had been in the youth of Horace Mann. The growth of cities stimulated a shift from domestic to commerical farming, a trend reinforced by the introduction of canals and railroads; and innovation marked agriculture as well as industry; farmers adopted new tools, like the iron plough and substituted horses for oxen as draft animals.[28] However, the Erie Canal and, after 1840, the introduction of the railroad ruined some of the developing commercial specialties, like wool-growing and beef-fattening, because wool and cattle could be obtained more inexpensively from the West. Yet some produce remained very profitable, especially vegetables, fruit and milk, which could not be transported long distances without refrigeration, and farmers utilized the growing number of branch railroad lines to market their goods.[29]

Their domestic manufactures supplanted by the products of machines, farm women cast about for a new means of supplementing their incomes. Some left home to work in the new factories and mills or to teach, others turned to new domestic occupations, such as raising silk worms, a brief and abortive fad.[30] Still, labor for carrying on the work of farming itself was not always easy to find, for the lure of the city penetrated to rural Massachusetts. As a writer in the New England Farmer complained:

---

[28] Percy Wells Bidwell, "The Agricultural Revolution in New England," The American Historical Review, XXVI, 4, July, 1921, pp. 687-689.

[29] Ibid., pp. 690-693. On agriculture in this period see also Paul W. Gates, The Farmer's Age, New York, 1960. On p. 269 Gates claims "too much emphasis has been placed upon rural decline and farm abandonment in the Northeast, and too little attention has been given to the growing agricultural specialization and readjustment that took place in the area."

[30] Bidwell, op. cit., p. 696.

> Every farmer's son and daughter are in pursuit of some genteel mode of living. After consuming the farm in the expenses of a fashionable, flashy, fanciful education, they leave the honorable profession of their fathers to become doctors, lawyers, merchants, or ministers or something of the kind.[31]

The conduct of business altered with the changes in manufacturing and agriculture. "By 1860," writes Thomas Cochoran, "business had assumed almost all the varied forms and functions that we are familiar with in the twentieth century." Managers had learned how to coordinate "big office staffs, particularly in finance and transportation," and a class of business executives had been created. No important monopolies had been formed, but "managers had experimented with almost all the modern techniques of limited competition."[32] Horace Mann and his contemporaries in the state legislature had helped to accelerate the emergence of the new economy within their own lifetime. Between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries the Massachusetts state government discarded an almost mercantilist conception of its function and a suspicion of industrial growth. Substituted was a more liberal formulation which stressed as little governmental interference with the economy as possible and a granting of privileges such as incorporation on a general rather than a selective basis. Moreover, direct assistance through innovations like limited liability andthe guaranteeing of the security of loans for railroad construction helped to make possible the economic transformation of the state.[33]

---

[31] Quoted in ibid., p. 700.

[32] Thomas C. Cochran, "Business Organization and the Development of an Industrial Discipline," in Harold F. Williamson, The Growth of the American Economy: An Introduction to the Economic History of the

Horace Mann's adult life encompassed the most remarkable changes in the economy of the state. In the half decade after his death the growth of the Massachusetts economy slackened considerably. For instance, between 1850 and 1855 the population increased 15%, between 1855 and 1860 it grew 8% and between 1860 and 1865 only 3 percent.[34] The difficulty of obtaining raw material during the Civil War fostered a marked decline in the number of hands employed in the cotton industry and in the amount of goods produced. Likewise, the pace of industrialization slackened; between 1845 and 1855, as noted earlier, the value of agricultural products dropped from 34 to 17 percent. Between 1845 and 1855 the number of hands employed in manufacturing rose sixty-nine percent; in the next ten years it increased but ten percent. Business, however, was apparently more profitable than ever. In 1845 sixty-five cents worth of cotton goods were produced for every dollar of investment in the cotton industry; by 1855 the figure had increased to eighty-one cents; by 1865 it had skyrocketed to one dollar and

---

United States, New York, 1944, p. 303. The best general economic history of this period is George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution*, 1815-1860, New York, 1951.

[33] Oscar and Mary Flugg Handlin, *Commonwealth*: *A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy, Massachusetts, 1774-1861*, New York, 1947, *passim*.

[34] Figures from the abstracts of the state censuses, cited *supra*., note 9.

sixty-three cents. Probably the decline in output during the Civil War caused a shortage, rising prices and increased profit. Indeed, the rise in prices and the inflation during the Civil War were phenomenal.[35] If 1913 is taken as a standard, representing one hundred, then the cost of living in 1840 was 60, in 1861 it was 61, in 1865 it was 102.[36]

When Horace Mann was born in 1796, who could have predicted that within one lifetime the landscape of the commercial and agrarian Yankee Commonwealth would be spotted by foul Irish slums, scarred by iron tracks, disfigured by mills and factories? Who could have known that women and children would be working in factories, operating machines that replaced the labor of scores of men and destroyed the traditional crafts of the home? Who could have forseen that more children would be growing up in cities and urban areas than on farms? Within the lifetime of one man a new society was born, a society that smashed old expectations with the force of steam, that ripped apart and restitched the tissues, the web of relationships that composed the experience of men.

---

[35] Figures computed from the Censuses of Industry.

[36] Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, Washington, 1960, p. 127.
In general the trends in the Massachusetts economy do not refute Cochran's conclusion "that the Civil War retarded American industrial growth." (Thomas C. Cochran, "Did the Civil War Retard Industrialism," in Thomas C. Cochran, The Inner Revolution, New York, 1964, p. 48.) In Massachusetts at any rate all the characteristics of an industrial society had developed by the mid-50's and little expansion, indeed, some decline, occurred between the mid-50's and 1865. Whether or not the Civil War retarded industrial growth or whether the declining growth rate reflected the inevitable leveling off of an earlier spurt is a question beyond the scope of this study.

II. The New Education

As a new society emerged within Massachusetts, the shape of public education expanded into new forms. As all the relationships of men were being woven anew, there arose an educational reform movement that examined and transformed every feature of schooling, from administration to pedagogy, from finance to the sex of teachers.[37] An expansion of public schooling accompanied the leap in population. Between 1840 and 1865 the number of pupils enrolled in winter schools increased 53.8% and the number of schools, 54.5 percent. Yet the number of teachers increased 74.4%, twenty percent more than the number of pupils; the number of pupils assigned to each teacher was decreasing. Augmented teacher salaries accompanied the expansion of the educational enterprise. From 1840 to 1865 the average salary of male teachers increased 65.5% and that of female teachers, 71.1 percent. Until the inflation of the 1860's these increases represented real gains because the cost of living remained relatively stable. A decreasing pupil-teacher ratio and rising teacher salaries helped increase per-pupil expenditure more than two and one half times during this period. However, the school tax rate changed but little, and the state multiplied its total and per pupil expenditure without allocating proportionally more of its resources to schools. A rise in property values, the basis for school taxes, made possible this fortunate situation. Indeed, between 1840 and 1865 the value of the Commonwealth's real estate more than tripled.

---

[37] Except where specifically noted all statistics in this section are from the reports of the secretaries of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

The face of public education altered in other ways, too. Teaching became a predominantly female occupation; in 1840, 61% of Massachusetts teachers were men; by 1865 the proportion had dropped more than three and one third times to fourteen percent. Public schools, moreover, were educating proportionally more of the state's children. The number of children attending incorporated academies remained relatively stable, but the number attending unincorporated academies and other private schools dropped markedly. In 1840, 22% of Massachusetts school children attended private schools; by 1865 the proportion was halved. The creation and spread of a new type of school, the public high school (defined in detail in Appendix B) accompanied the decline in academy attendance. The first, the Boston English High School, was founded in 1821. In 1840 there were but eighteen high schools in the state; in 1865 there were one hundred and eight.[38]

Presiding over the transformation of public education was the state government. As the Massachusetts government abandoned its mercantilist tendencies for a more liberal, non-interventionist approach to economic life, its attitude toward education changed in the opposite direction. The state took a far more active and positive role than before in the promotion of public education. In 1837 the Legislature created the Board of Education. Although the Board lacked coercive power, its secretaries used their annual reports to diffuse comparative educational statistics and educational theory as well as a general goad to reform throughout the state. During this period the Legislature also voted to establish the first state normal schools in the United States[39] and, in 1852, passed the first compulsory school law.[40] The most effective sanction the state could use against a town was to withhold its portion of the state school fund, first distributed in 1834. In 1865 it used this weapon to coerce recalcitrant towns to meet their legal obligations to establish high schools.[41] The state sponsored and encouraged other innovations. It disbursed money for school libraries to districts and even commissioned a controversial set of books. The Legislature permitted the towns to abolish the district system, and the secretaries of the Board of Education encouraged them to do so. The state permitted the appointment of paid local superintendents. Secretaries encouraged the adoption of better styles of school architecture, new pedagogical techniques and different methods of school management and discipline.[42] Local school reports reveal that exhortations were not in vain; many innovations entered the schools; the process of education itself was changed.

---

[38] The figures for high school establishment are from Alexander James Inglis, The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts, New York, 1911, pp. 42-45.

---

[39] On the first normal school see: Andrew Norton, ed., The First State Normal School in America, The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift, Cambridge, 1926.

[40] Massachusetts Statues, 1852, chapter 283.

[41] Twenty-ninth Report, p. 18.

[42] Many of the innovations are listed in George H. Martin, The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System, New York, 1894, passim.

Within Massachusetts the most remarkable period of economic expansion had ended by 1860; during the half-decade from 1860 to 1865 there was little change; the same is true of educational expansion. Some measures of education were even marked by retrogression. The increase in enrollment, the number of schools and the number of teachers slowed considerably. Salary increases were slight; indeed, the rise in prices far outstripped the gains in the salaries of teachers, whose financial condition deteriorated badly during the Civil War. Likewise, the rise in property valuation slowed, and the twelve percent rise in per pupil expenditure could hardly keep pace with inflation. Public schools even lost some of the inroads they had made on private education. The proportion of students attending academies rose slightly, and the number at unincorporated academies grew markedly. In the mid-nineteenth century a new society and a new education emerged within Massachusetts, and their growth patterns were remarkably similar.

Thus, to explore the origins of mass popular education is, to a large extent, to try to relate the new society and the new education. The attempt here is to establish, on the one hand, the relation between reformers' ideology and their style of reform and, on the other hand, to see both in the context of fundamental alteration in the conditions of life in Massachusetts.[43] At the outset the reader should realize that this exploration of relationships is neither narrative nor descriptive history. It is analytical. By that, I mean this study focuses on small, concrete situations, which it tries to examine thoroughly. The intent is not to be narrow; rather it is to start with the concrete and through careful analysis to work outwards to conclusions of broad cultural significance. The analytical approach requires some rather unconventional historical techniques, though, certainly, they are being used with increasing frequency by historians. Interpretation of specific complex and frequently puzzling phenomena requires the use of ideas developed by social psychologists. I have tried not to encumber the text with social scientific theory, but my conclusions about motivation have been pondered and revised in the light of current theories, particularly those concerned with the role of ambivalence in motivation. Similarly, certain very empirical questions, such as ones about the social composition of high schools, and the kinds of areas in which innovation occurred, are crucial to the analysis. To answer these I have had to use some fairly elaborate statistical techniques. In general, I have included the technical information about the handling of the data and most tables in the appendices and used the conclusions of the statistical analyses in the text as they are relevant.

---

[43] On the formulation of inquiries in the social sciences see: R. M. MacIver, Social Causation, New York, 1942, Harper Torchbook edition, 1964, a work which has contributed greatly to my construal of the problem of this study.

My frame of reference, it should be evident, differs from the prevailing trend in the study of the relationship between education and economic development. For my taste this trend rests, for the most part, on overly simplistic and mechanistic assumptions about human behavior.[44] I am not concerned with gross generalizations about human resource development or relations between levels of education and levels of industrialization. Rather I am concerned with the often subtle interplay of factors in a complex situation, with the pattern of interaction formed when major alterations in the conditions of life, mediated by the tensions and values of men, provoke innovations in social policy. The concern here, as well, is with the irony and problems that arise when ideologically treasured innovations confront social reality. To approach these issues I have focused on three important events or situations that seemed significant and

---

[44] One example of the kind of economic approach against which I am arguing is provided by Shultz. (Theodore Shultz, "Education and Economic Growth," in Henry B. Nelson, ed., *Social Forces Influencing American Education*, Chicago, 1961.) Shultz argues that education has played an important part in economic growth. He starts from the assumption that much economic growth is inexplicable solely in terms of an increase in the labor force and an increasing investment in physical stock. He sees education as the factor that accounts for the unexplained portion of growth. Shultz measures total investment in education and tries to compare it against its returns in terms of individual income and economic expansion. He concludes that education is a very profitable investment. Similarly, Harbison and Meyers (Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Meyers, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development*, New York, 1964.) assert that "the processes of human resource development unlock the door to modernization" (p. 2) and proceed to try to demonstrate a relation between "levels" of economic development and "levels" of education. On the Marxian approach see: Benjamin Higgins, *Economic Development Principles, Problems, and Policies*, New York, 1959, pp. 107-121.

For a critique of the approach of many economists see: David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, Princeton, 1961, p. 8: Basically, the economist's model of development is a rational one in which enlightened self-interest of man converts pressures acting on the economic system from inside or outside into activities resulting in greater productivity or wealth. . .Man's self-interest and an event which changed the economic equilbrium so that he was at an advantage or disadvantage might thus explain the resulting increases in economic activity and productivity. Even today this model continues to dominate the somewhat surprising. The first is the abolition of Beverly High School in 1860; the second is the attack of the American Institute of Instruction on a respected colleague, Cyrus Peirce; the third is the criticism of the state reform school offered by some of the state's leading reformers, who should, by all expectations, have been its champions. From each situation I have tried to build outward, seeing it in the context of state wide reform and assessing its general significance for the time and its implications for the future. Each of the three parts of this study, then, considers an important aspect of the reform movement, and as I have proceeded I have tried to indicate their relationship to each other.

However, I should make clear again that in no sense is this study intended as a complete history of the educational reform movement. It makes no effort to provide a thorough or even balanced description of the remarkable development of public education within Massachusetts. Little attention is paid to political parties, to

---

> thinking of most economists because of its great simplicity and convincing a priori reasonableness.

Actually, the hypothesis that in any sense an investment in education "caused" the economic growth of Massachusetts can be rejected from the outset. Without any change in the educational level of the population Massachusetts presented as ideal a situation as one can conceive for the rapid transformation from an agricultural-commerical to an industrial economy. Population was increasing; food was abundant and the Malthusian dilemma could be avoided; land and water were plentiful; technology could be imported; capital was seeking an outlet and the government was fostering the development of manufactures. For a good brief statement of the factors important in economic development see: Richard T. Gill, Economic Development: Past and Present, Englewood Cliffs, 1963, pp. 3-20.

religious controversies or to foreign influences. This is not to say that politics, religion and foreign influences are not important, but other scholars have investigated these topics, which are the traditional emphases of the historians of education concerned with this period.[45] This study hopes to provide a different and a new perspective. Indeed, it is my feeling that the attention paid to the more traditional categories has helped obscure the underlying dynamics of the reform movement, and it is precisely these dynamics that this study hopes to illuminate.

---

[45] On religious controversies see: Raymond Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools, New Haven, 1929; on politics see: Rush Welter, Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America, New York, 1962, pp. 45-123; on foreign influence see: John Davies, Phrenology: Fad and Science, a Nineteenth Century American Crusade, New Haven, 1955; and Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order, Boston, 1963, pp. 306-310.

Part One. REFORM BY IMPOSITION
Social Origins of Educational Controversy

Prologue: The Abolition of Beverly High School

At the Beverly town meeting in March, 1860, clerk John I. Baker called the roll of the eligible voters on a motion of Joseph Thissell to abolish the two year old high school, re-distribute the money already appropriated among the school districts and challenge in the supreme court the state law requiring towns of a certain size to maintain a high school. Numerous citizens, unable to make up their minds, stayed silent when Baker called their names. But 392 did vote, 143 against the motion to abolish, 249 in its favor.[1] The nature of supporters and opponents does violence to the myth that sees free, public secondary education as the fulfillment of democratic, working class aspirations. Likewise, it raises disturbing questions about the viability of the consensus theory of the American past. For the question of the future of Beverly high school found the social and financial leaders of the town arrayed against its least affluent citizens, and it was the former who provided the most solid group of supporters for the high school.

Because the high school issue was so important clerk Baker, most unusually, recorded the name of each individual who voted and the nature of his vote. Tax books and the manuscript census of 1860 furnish information about the residence, occupation, wealth, age and number of dependents of 343 of the 392 voters.[2] This information is presented in tabular form in Appendix D.

---

[1] Beverly Citizen, March 17, 1860, p.2.

[2] The tax books are in the Beverly city Hall. These are useful because they group the tax assessment lists by school district. The manuscript census

First of all, consider the people who opposed abolition of the high school. Most of them lived in the two most populous, dense and centrally located districts, the Grammar and the South.[3] Supporters included those in the most prestigous occupations: 17 of the 19 professionals and public employees, eight of the nine sea captains and master mariners and all four "gentlemen". The vote of the businessmen was less decisive, but a significant majority of this heterogeneous category, including everything from wealthy merchant to shopkeeper, were among the supporters of the high school. Moreover, most of the businessmen who lived in the Grammar and South districts supported the high school as did most of the wealthiest ones. Throughout the town the vote of the artisans was split, but those who lived in the Grammar and South districts and those with children generally favored the high school. The wealth of the town was clearly on the side of the high school. The average personal estate, real estate and total estate of those who opposed abolition was much higher than those who favored it. Of those in the top category for each kind of valuation, over $5,000,high school supporters predominated. Sixteen of twenty-six with real estate in this category, eighteen of twenty-four with personal estate and thirty-three of forty-nine with total estate were among those who stood out against the abolition of the high school.

For those who voted in favor of the motion to abolish the high school these characteristics were generally reversed. Most came from the outlying districts, sparsely populated. The Cove district, where only five out of fifty-seven voters supported the high school, was the only district untouched by the railroad. Those in the least prestigous occupational categories were as solidly opposed to the high school as the prominent were in favor.

---

of 1860 is in the Massachusetts State Archives.

Voting to abolish were 37 of the 44 farmers, 80 of the 109 shoemakers, 21 of the 24 mariners and fisherman, and all 10 laborers. The businessmen who opposed the high school generally had less wealth than the supporters and more lived in the outlying districts. Fewer of the artisans who voted for abolition had children of school age than did those who supported. Indeed, dependency was an important characteristic. Of 171 voters with no children of school age, 120 voted to abolish the high school. However, no significant differences existed between voters in number of children of high school age or in number of teenage children attending school. Finally, the people who voted to abolish the high school were the least wealthy, on every measure. Not only that, but the distribution of the wealth they did have was different. Whereas those who supported the high school generally had an estate balanced fairly evenly between real and personal property, those who voted for abolition had more valuable real than personal holdings. That is, opposition to the high school came not only from the least wealthy but also from those whose holdings in land and buildings exceeded their personal property.

None of these characteristics, of course, can be truly independent of the others. Yet there were two sorts of dominating groupings in the vote on the high school issue. On the one hand, people with no children of school age were protesting the continuation of an institution which increased their tax bill. On the other hand, there was a clear social division, which encompassed many, though not all, the voters. Those in prestigous occupations and those of most wealth were supporting an innovating addition to the

---

[3] I was able to judge district density and location from a map in the possession of the Beverly Historical Society.

Voting to abolish were 37 of the 44 farmers, 80 of the 109 shoemakers, 21 of the 24 mariners and fisherman, and all 10 laborers. The businessmen who opposed the high school generally had less wealth than the supporters and more lived in the outlying districts. Fewer of the artisans who voted for abolition had children of school age than did those who supported. Indeed, dependency was an important characteristic. Of 171 voters with no children of school age, 120 voted to abolish the high school. However, no significant differences existed between voters in number of children of high school age or in number of teenage children attending school. Finally, the people who voted to abolish the high school were the least wealthy, on every measure. Not only that, but the distribution of the wealth they did have was different. Whereas those who supported the high school generally had an estate balanced fairly evenly between real and personal property, those who voted for abolition had more valuable real than personal holdings. That is, opposition to the high school came not only from the least wealthy but also from those whose holdings in land and buildings exceeded their personal property.

None of these characteristics, of course, can be truly independent of the others. Yet there were two sorts of dominating groupings in the vote on the high school issue. On the one hand, people with no children of school age were protesting the continuation of an institution which increased their tax bill. On the other hand, there was a clear social division, which encompassed many, though not all, the voters. Those in prestigous occupations and those of most wealth were supporting an innovating addition to the

---

[3] I was able to judge district density and location from a map in the possession of the Beverly Historical Society.

educational system, even though they were the ones who would pay the highest taxes. Opposition came from the working class[4]: fishermen, farmers, shoemakers and laborers. Indeed, these groups were almost as unanimously opposed to the high school as the former were in favor. A third important element was the business and artisan groups among which few differences in wealth could be discerned. In fact, it was again the wealthier businessmen, who would be more highly taxed, who voted more often for the high school. With the business and artisan groups concerns other than taxation must be considered. The association between vote and residence provides a clue here since these people were engaged in retail work; they were dependent upon their neighbors for a livelihood, and it is reasonable to infer that both the prejudices of their neighborhood and the desire to avoid offending customers were relevant factors in their vote.

Still, we must ask if there were other reasons for these more middle class townsmen to support the high school. Indeed, the explanation of the vote to abolish Beverly high school is far from clear. Opposition did not come from vested interests, and it came only partly from the traditional bane of educational innovators, parsimonious people with no children of school age. Why did the wealthy and prestigous favor a high school? Why did the working class oppose? Perhaps a closer look at an individual supporter will suggest some answers. One of the most prominent high school promoters in Beverly was Robert Rantoul, Sr. His son Robert Rantoul, Jr, was the famous Democratic Senator who helped found the Free Soil Party and whose early, tragic death evoked an ode from Whittier. Rantoul, Sr., was one of the first citizens of both Beverly and Massachusetts[5]. Born in 1778 in Salem, Rantoul was the son of a Scottish immigrant, drowned at sea when his son was still quite young. In spite of severe financial difficulties Rantoul attended, successively, a dame school, a private writing school, the town grammar school, and, occasionally, a Latin school. At the age of fourteen he left school and was apprenticed to a doctor-apothecary. Rantoul, a quick learner, was soon managing the shop; and his successful experience enabled him to raise the money to buy a vacant apothecary shop in Beverly when he was but seventeen and a half years old. Rantoul continued his success as an apothecary and began his rise toward eminence as a local merchant. Most likely with an eye toward his political future, Rantoul by himself studied law and learned enough to practice and to become a local judge. Rantoul signified his arrival at the top of Beverly society by providing his son with one of the most prestigious educations Massachusetts could offer. Robert Rantoul, Jr., attended Phillips Andover and, in 1820, the year of his graduation from the academy, entered Harvard College. Another sign of Rantoul's social arrival was his prominent position in important town financial ventures. He was founder of the Marine Insurance Company in Beverly and an active director of the local bank. These activities, as well as a legacy including a complete and lengthy set of *Hunt's Merchants Magazine*, indicate that Rantoul was a promoter. The extent of Rantoul's holdings and his involvement with commerical life and industrial development are revealed by his estate. Rantoul left $16,350 in real estate and $28,326.45 in personal estate. His stock holdings were distributed between railroads, steam cotton mills, turnpikes, banks and insurance companies. The uncollected debts he left indicate that Rantoul was also a money lender, and the sequestered [illegible] on a number of properties show that he was likewise a realtor[6].

---

[4] I use the term working-class throughout this study to mean people in the lowest socio-economic categories. Thus, I am using the term in its current sense. I do not mean "workingman" in the sense the term was employed in the mid-nineteenth century since this covered a much broader range of social groups, including people we would today term middle and upper middle class. On the term "workingman" see Walter Hugins, Jacksonion Democracy and The Working Class, Stanford, 1960, p. 52.

---

[5] The following partial list of Rantoul's positions demonstrates his importance: Overseer of the Beverly Poor, 1804-54; justice of the peace and acting trial judge for the town, 1818-1858; first parish (Unitarian) clerk, deacon of the first parish church, original trustee of the State Institution for the Blind, 1830-1851; original and life-long member of the Massachusetts Temperance Society; representative at the General Court, 1809-19; 1823-27; 1828-33; senator from Essex County, 1820, 1821-22; captain of the Beverly Light Infantry Company, 1805-8 and first lieutenant of the Coast Guard Artillery Company, 1814-15, county commissioner of highways, deliverer of the official address when Lafayette came to Beverly in 1834; member of the school committee for forty years; member of two constitutional conventions, 1820 and 1855; chairman of the legislative committee to audit the entire state; alledgedly first person to stir the question of capital punishment in Massachusetts; and successively a Federalist, a Democrat and one of the ten founders of the Republican Party in Beverly. For biographical details on Rantoul see, Frederick A. Ober, "Beverly", in D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., _History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men_, Philadelphia, 1888, v. 1, p. 728.

Rantouls's public speeches and, even, his private writings offer no clue that he was a promoter. Indeed, they are designed, it would seem deliberately, to present a rather different impression. To Rantoul no value deserved more attention than social unity; nothing was more repugnant than communal conflict. Throughout his speeches and his autobiography runs a real longing for a truly unified society, which he locates somewhere in the past. When Rantoul lectured on "economy" at the Lyceum in 1835, he stressed that he would say "nothing" to encourage that miserable spirit of envy and jealousy, which finds its highest gratification in planting and fostering the most bitter feelings of opposition and hatred between those in the different classes into which society is divided". Instead, he stressed "mutual dependence".[7] Elsewhere he commented with nostalgic regret on the demise of voluntary fire fighting which had provided a "favorable influence upon the mass of the community, provoking a generous desire to aid one another by personal efforts and sacrifices". Unfortunately, the termination of voluntary fire fighting represented one phase of a misguided "Lessening of sympathy for our fellow beings".[8] Similarly, the high point in the history of Beverly, according to Rantoul, was the united community action in response to an 1832 cholera threat, united action that would not have been possible, he claimed, a few years later[9].

---

[6] Robert S. Rantoul, "Some Material for a History of the Name and Family of Rentoul-Rintoul-Rantoul," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, xxi, October-November-December, 1884, p. 261; "Mr. Rantoul's Youth and Apprenticeship", *ibid*., v. October, 1863, pp. 193-196, Robert Rantoul, Sr., "Autobiography", manuscript, Beverly Historical Society, pp. 275 and 415; his collection of *Hunt's ....* is in the possession of the Beverly Historical Society. His will is in the Essex County Court House, Salem.

Observers other than Rantoul noted the earlier social unity in Beverly. Historian Joseph Ober saw harmony as a product of kinship and portrayed Beverly as a large family, almost a clan. Throughout generations the people of Beverly "had contentedly tilled the soil and ploughed the sea, leaving their ancestral homes only to participate in the business affairs of the town or when summoned by the imperative of war". Intermarriage had united the people in the different sections of the town, and "the people ... were individually members of one and the same great family; their interests and their traditions were identical".[10] Edwin Stone, another historian, noted in 1842 that the lawyers in Beverly found it impossible to make a living by fees alone. A "distinguished member of the Essex bar," he wrote, had remarked "as a singular fact in his experience, that during a practice of nearly forty years, he had never known a native of Beverly convicted of any heinous crime".[11]

---

[7] Robert Rantoul, "Lecture on Economy", delivered before the Beverly Lyceum, December 8 and 15, 1836, manuscript, Beverly Historical Society.

[8] "Autobiography", p. 219. Rantoul started to compile his autobiography in 1848 and made additions until his death ten years later. It draws heavily on extracts from his diary, record books and letters and is, therefore, much more than the senile musings of an old man.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 365.

To Ober the destroyer of the happy family was the summer boarder, whose arrival with the railroad, around 1840, introduced a "new element" into the town.[12] As for Stone's comments on the law abiding nature of Beverly citizens: among the seventy-nine arrests in the town during 1864, one was for murder, seventeen were for assault, eighteen for larceny, one for keeping a "disorderly house" and two for "night walking". Two, likewise, were of "stubborn children"; four were for adultry. In 1863 the newspaper reported with horror that one Stackpole, an example of the "fast young men" who infested the town, had killed his sister and attempted to murder his parents. Nor were the recent immigrants always placid, as indicated by the town paper's disgusted account of the stabbing of one Irishman by another on Water Street.[13]

---

[10] Ober, op. cit., p. 749.

[11] Edwin Stone, A History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from its Settlement in 1630 to 1842, Boston, 1843, p. 307.

[12] Ober, op. cit., p. 749.

Rantoul perceptively connected the demise of social unity with the changes that were overtaking the Commonwealth and the town of Beverly. It had been "the introduction of shoemaking as a general employment" that had "gradually changed the habits, manners and morals of the mass - from a fishing, sea-faring and farming population," into "a manufacturing population in the main".[14] Indeed, Rantoul told a local audience, farming was better than trade as an occupation. In itself mercantile life, the distribution of products and luxuries over a wider area, was a fine activity; but, unfortunately, trade had some unlovely aspects: "too many mean artifices and tricks, too much overreaching and even gross atrocious frauds, and a reckless sacrifice of health, morals, comfort and of a vast number of lives ..." On the whole, then, agriculture provided a better life than trading. Massachusetts soil was not the most fertile, but "labor, intelligently and skillfully applied in the cultivation of the ground" offered an "ample reward". No farmer could grow as rich as a merchant or a manufacturer; there was no hope of sudden or spectacular accumulation; but a man, "active and industrious" would obtain a "comfortable subsistence" and have a bit left over. And how much superior was the idyllic life on the farm to the uncertainties and questionable morality of trade. How unfortunate was it that the country had suffered already "from the ... large and disproportionate number ... withdrawn from the laborious and productive classes in rural life, to engage in the unproductive pursuits of trade ...".[15] Thus spoke Robert Rantoul, merchant, lawyer, promoter: a man who never was a farmer, who grew up in a city, who directed a bank, who sent neither son nor grandson to a farm, who subscribed

---

[13] Beverly Citizen, March 12, 1864; April 1, 1863, November 5, 1859, all p. 2.

[14] Rantoul, op. cit., pp. 194 and 365.

faithfully to that agent of the mercantile spirit, Hunt's Merchants Magazine.

In 1854 Robert Rantoul formally retired from town affairs. But three years later he returned to the annual, spring town meeting. One purpose, claimed the aging patriarch, was to bid farewell and thanks to the townspeople; the other was to speak in favor of the proposed town high school. In his nearly completed autobiography, Rantoul commented, "This subject I deem to be very important and have come to speak and vote in favor of such a school. I spoke at some length but by the result of the vote with very little effect as there was a large majority against the measure". Yet, some citizens drew up an indictment against the town for not complying with the state law which required towns of Beverly's size to have a high school. This action precipitated another town meeting. Again Rantoul attended; this, however, was the last time.[16] By his side were his grandsons, who also argued for the high school. One grandson was Robert S. Rantoul, a lawyer, later president of the Essex Institute. In his papers exist the fragments of a speech listing citations of court cases, which were apparently chosen to show the town that the law was clearly on the side of the state. Surely, he must have told the townspeople, they would lose the ensuing legal battle if they persisted in their defiance.[17] The high school, started in 1858, was abolished in 1860; by then Rantoul was dead, but one of those who

---

[15] Robert Rantoul, "Lecture on Agriculture", Read at Beverly Lyceum, February 11, 1841, manuscript, Beverly Historical Society.

[16] Rantoul, "Autobiography", unnumbered page.

[17] The papers of Robert S. Rantoul are at the Essex Institute in Salem. Also there are some papers of Robert Rantoul, Sr. and many of the papers of Robert Rantoul, Jr. Many other Rantoul family manuscripts are at the Beverly Hisotical Society. Enough material exists to do at least a three generation study of the family.

stood out against its destruction was the wealthy druggist, William Endicott, one of the grandsons who had been at Rantoul's side in 1857.

Why did Rantoul support a high school? Is there a relation between his activities as a promoter, his longing for social harmony, his disingenuous or incongrous remarks on the virtues of farm life and his activity on behalf of education, especially a high school?[18] Rantoul left no direct answers to these questions, but his perception of his society, the values that he extoled, these were representative of leading schoolmen and high schoolpromoters throughout the state. If we look at the attitudes and arguments of these men, we can better understand both Robert Rantoul and the abolition of Beverly high school.

I. Educational Promoters and the High School

Massachusetts educational promoters had an ambivalent attitude to the transformation of the economic basis of the state. They argued, on the one hand, that education had fostered the impressive economic progress of the state. The relation between education and the creation of wealth was, in fact, the thesis of Horace Mann's fifth report in which he elaborated at length his contention that the progress and prosperity of a manufacturing economy were dependent upon the education of the entire population.[19] The connection between education and industrial prosperity and the enthusiasm with which schoolmen welcomed economic transformation were well illustrated in the first report of George Boutwell, third secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.[20] Boutwell stressed that education had been of the utmost importance in the development of Massachusetts into an industrial state. The role of the schools was increasingly potent since "labor", in its "leading characteristics", had been previously a "manual process", but now had become, "in its force and value, essentially intellectual". The fruits of intelligence were harvested in improved agricultural production and, especially in industry. For "the prosperity of the mills and shops is based quite as much upon the intellectual vigor as upon the physical power of the laborers". In his rapturous description of the qualities of intellectualized industry Boutwell demonstrated one side of the ambivalence of Massachusetts educators to industrial society:

---

[18] Given Rantoul's transition from Federalism to Democracy the stress on social unity is to be expected, as is clear from Shaw Livermore, Jr., The Twighlight of Federalism, The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830, Princeton, 1962.

[19] Horace Mann, Life and Works of Horace Mann, Boston, 1867, v. 4 p. 259. See also, ibid., v.iii, pp. 92-128, esp. p. 109: education is not only a moral renovator, and a multiplier of intellectual power, but ... it is also the most prolific parent of material riches. It has a right, therefore, not only to be included in the grand inventory of a nation's resources, but to be placed at the very head of that inventory.

---

[20] The third secretary of the Board of Education, George Boutwell, was a resident of Groton and a Democrat. Boutwell, like his predecessors Mann and Sears, had a distinguished career, which, in Boutwell's case, personified the American myth of the self-made man. Boutwell's parents were poor, and his only formal education was in common schools. He commenced his working life as an assistant to a merchant whose brick store in the center of Groton was opposite the site on which the high school was eventually built. Boutwell continued his own education and eventually became qualified to practice law. He took an active role in the affairs of Groton and served as member of the school committee, local postmaster and representative to the General Court. Boutwell was one of the founders of the Republican Party in Massachusetts and an ardent opponent of slavery. In the early fifties the legislature elected him Governor to head an administration representing a coalition of dissident Conscience Whigs and Democrats. During the Civil War he entered national politics as commissioner of internal revenue and, eventually, congressman. During Johnson's administration Boutwell was one of the representatives who agitated vociferously for the President's impeachment. Under Grant Boutwell was Secretary of the Treasury and, finally, United States Senator. His last position was president of the Anti-Imperialist League, a post which he held from 1898 until his death in 1905. For biographical details on Boutwell see the article by Henry G. Pearson in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. ii, pp. 489-490; Samuel A. Green, *An Historical Sketch of Groton, Massachusetts, 1655-1890*, Groton, 1894, *passim*, and George Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs*, 2 vol., N.Y., 1902.

> Labor is not imitative merely, - it is inventive, creative. The laborer is no longer servile, yielding to laws and necessities that he cannot comprehend, and therefore cannot respect, but he has been elevated to the regions of art, and works by laws that he appreciates, and aspires to a perfection as real, at least, as that of the sculptor, painter, or poet.... The laws of labor are the laws that exist and are recognized in art, eloquence and science. The great law of these latter unquestionably is, that every student shall be at the same time an original thinker, investigator, designer and producer.

The artist laborer had a central role to play in Massachusetts since, claimed Boutwell, "Massachusetts, from its history and position, is necessarily a manufacturing and commercial state". Manufacture and commerce, he continued, require intellectual cultivation and "a high order of learning". The industrial and commercial success of Massachusetts, consequently, depended "for the material of its growth and prosperity on the intelligence of the laboring classes upon the land and in the shops and mills. Thus we connect the productive power of our state with its institutions of learning".[21]

In the past, educators argued, the common schools had made Massachusetts prosperous, but educational institutions sufficient for the needs of a simple agrarian society would not meet the demands of an urban-industrial economy. Rantoul shared this opinion, as the resolution he offered at an 1837 town meeting implies:

> Resolved that while the antiquity of our common schools commands our great respect we owe it to ourselves and to posterity to infuse into their system of instruction a spirit of improvement so that while all other means of education have been vastly improved, enlarged and extended this favorite system of our democratic republic may have its just and relative value and present high estimation among our citizens and continue to accomplish its great end and design.[22]

---

[21] Twentieth Report, pp. 36-37. For Barnas Sears' comments on the relatio of education and economic growth see Nineteenth Report, p. 51.

The Winchendon school committee, similarly, maintained that it was a "fixed point" that all should receive a good education but the term "good"itself was "moveable". In educational requirements the "tendency" was upwards".[23] The occupations open to a boy with only an elementary common school background now required a secondary education. In every variety of work "rapid progress", commented the Brookline school committee in 1855, called for a "corresponding expansion ... in education". To the Brookline committee a high school was the means of providing for the demands created by economic change.[24]

---

[22] Manuscript, Rantoul Papers, Beverly Historical Society.

[23] Winchendon ... 1852-53, 1853, p. 15. Horace Mann expressed the view that education had not kept pace with political and social change in a letter to J. A. Shaw, March 7, 1840 (Mann papers, Massachusetts Historical Society):

> Now the increased means of education for the last sixty years have not kept pace with the increasing obligations, duties, and temptations of the community. For some years past, the friends of the schools, the advocates for a universal education, commensurate with the wants of the community have perceived this, and have endeavored to make education not only more efficient when it existed, but to enlarge the circle of its action.

[24] Brookline Report abstracted in Eighteenth Report, P. 205:

> Modern commerce requires of the young merchant that he should have a more adequate knowledge of the great globe he dwells on than can be acquired from the pages of a Grammar School text-book; the farmer cannot much longer dispense with some scientific knowledge of the soil he cultivates; the ships, the mills, the warehouses we need can no longer be built by the rule of thumb of an ignorant mechanic. Whole classes in our community, who, not a generation ago, would have been content to earn their living by unskilled labor, are now thrust from that lower market, and forced to add knowledge and intelligence to the labor of their hands. Surely, we should not regret this state of things, but it behooves us to provide for it.

Rantoul may have had a high school in mind when he complained that some parents scoffed at the newer, more advanced subject matter of education with the attitude "that as they did not attend, when young, to those studies, therefore it is not important for their children to attend to them." But this was a fallacy "inasmuch as their children come into life in a community much better taught than was the society in which their parents began life".[25]

Intertwined with the arguments relating the necessity of improved education, especially a high school, to the economic requirements of an industrializing society are contentions stressing the relationship between the high school and social mobility. The Winchendon committee argued that the availability of foreigners to perform the "least desirable" sorts of work enabled "our sons to rise to other employments." To seize the new opportunities for its children a town required an advanced educational system, especially a high school; there was no other alternative if parents desired their children to rise on the economic and social scale. "Shall we," asked the committee, "stand still, and see our children outstripped in the race of life, by the children of those who are willing to pursue a liberal and far-sighted policy?"[26]

The relation between the high school and both communal prosperity and mobility were driven home to the people of Beverly by Rufus Putnam, part time superintendent and principal of a high school in neighboring

---

[25] "Mr. Rantoul's Connexion with Town and Parochial Affairs - His Views on Religion", The Historical Collections of the Essex Insitute, vi, April, 1864, no. 2, p. 82.

[26] Winchendon, op. cit., p. 15.

Salem. He informed the town that there was a direct correlation between educational facilities and the wealth of a community. He told the citizens of Beverly that to develop their economy they would have to develop their schools, and, he maintained, no improvement was more crucial than a high school. "The best educated community", said Putnam, "will ... *always* be the most prosperous community ... nothing so directly tends to promote the increase of *wealth* of a community as the thorough mental training of its youth ...".[27] When he had taken charge of the Bowditch (English) High School in Salem, Putnam, as reported by Rantoul, told the people of Beverly in 1853, parents had difficulty finding employment for children who had attended. But technological change had completely altered the situation:

> the introduction of Machinery in the arts had increased the demand for education inasmuch as there was more mind required in the use of machinery than without it ... and an increase in a greater proportion of mental process to produce the increased results called for more education.

In fact, continued Putnam, "there was such a demand for well educated boys that some were induced to leave school before they had completed their regular course of study".[28]

The argument that a high school would foster mobility probably appealed to parents of limited or moderate means. For they are the ones who would not be able to provide their sons with the capital or influence that might make a good education less necessary, and it is likely that these arguments influenced many of the artisans and less wealthy business-men who voted for the retention of Beverly high school. Similarly, it is likely that the wealthy elite of supporters found the appeal to communal wealth moving, for as owners of real estate, as investors in enterprises they stood to gain the most from urban and industrial development. But would the arguments concerning mobility appeal to them? Had they an interest in paying taxes to develop their own competition and competition for their children? Another prominent high school promoter from Beverly helps answer these questions.

---

[27] Report of Rufus Putnam as Superintendent of schools in *Beverly ... 1853-54*, 1855, pp. 24-26.

This high school promoter was the leading town physician, Dr. Wyatt C. Boyden, next door neighbor of Robert Rantoul. The two promoters did not always agree. Boyden was a Whig, a friend of Rufus Choate, an admirer of Webster. Rantoul was a Democrat. In 1836 Boyden was one of four physicians whose united raising of fees evoked a petition from a town meeting, a petition urged by Rantoul.[29] Both Rantoul and Boyden were charter members of the Beverly Academy, which flourished from the 1830's to the mid-50's, but a fight between the trustees and proprietors led to Rantoul's resignation. The fight had been over the appointment of a teacher, one James Woodberry Boyden, the doctor's eldest son.[30] However, the two men must frequently have submerged their differences. For nearly two decades they served together on the town school committee, and both were among the ten original members of the Republican party in Beverly.[31]

---

[28] Rantoul, "Autobiography", p. 229.

[29] Albert Boyden, Here and There in the Family Tree, Salem, 1949, p. 113. The draft of the petition, in Rantoul's handwriting, is in his papers, Beverly Historical Society.

[30] On both the demise of the academy and the proprietor-trustee controversy see Rantoul, "Autobiography", pp. 221-223 and Ober, op. cit., p. 722.

The son of a financially struggling country doctor, Boyden was born in Tamworth, New Hampshire, in 1794. A combination of common schools, a brief spell at an academy and private tutoring by a local minister prepared Boyden for Dartmouth, which he entered in 1815. In 1819 he became the first Tamworth resident to receive a Dartmouth A.B. From 1815 to 1826 Boyden alternated going to college with school teaching and, finally, studying medicine at Dartmouth. As was common in that period, he actually started to practice before he had received his degree. During one term Boyden taught a school in Beverly Farms where he met Elizabeth Woodbury. They married in 1821 and settled in New Hampshire until pressure from Elizabeth's parents and the offer of an attractive junior partnership in a flourishing practice attracted them back to Beverly.[32]

Unlike his father, Boyden was a prosperous doctor. "During the healthy and active part of my life," he wrote, "I have had a leading and somewhat lucrative business.... My yearly income has from the beginning more than supported me."[33] Boyden's financial status was not, however, solely the result of his income from fees. With considerable shrewdness he early perceived the future of the shoe business

---

[31] The resolution forming the Republican party in Beverly, together with the signatures of the ten founders, is reproduced in Boyden, op. cit., opposite p. 116.

[32] Boyden, op. cit., pp. 16-17. The account of Boyden is taken from this source, which is a geneology composed partly of narrative and partly of generous excerpts from family papers.

[33] Ibid., p. 17.

in Lynn, and his considerable investments there, claimed his grandson, "have proved of substantial benefit to the family". Boyden also provided his sons with capital. "When he found that his son Albert was a shrewd and safe man," wrote Boyden's grandson, " ... he entrusted money to him for investment in Illinois farm-mortgages at rates of interest which, though normal for their times, seem fancifully high in our days of cheap money." Dr. Boyden died in 1879 and left an estate valued at $75,000, "this sum being almost entirely the result of his own earnings, savings and investments."[34]

This physician-promoter also engaged actively in the affairs of Beverly. Boyden's learning and his love of the classics made him a leader in educational matters, especially; and he served for twenty-four years as a member of the school committee. He was also a charter member of the Beverly Academy. Again, according to his grandson, he was the town's most active and influential exponent of graded schools.[35] For all his interest of many years in education, the decision to vote for the high school was not an easy one for Boyden to make. In a fragment of a letter, perhaps never sent, he explained his conception of the importance of a high school.

Boyden admitted his unwillingness to increase "the high rate and pressure of our Town Expenses - for schools, and all other purposes. I confess I have had some reluctance to add to them the expense of a high school."[36] But Boyden's fundamental assumption regarding education was that

---

[34] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[35] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

"the prosperity of the country - and the permanence of our civil, political and religious Institutions ... depend on the intelligence and virtue of the people." To insure these conditions the founders of New England, Boyden explained, had established common schools open and free to all and a college more or less at common expense. But, he continued, "There was still a course of education wanted, intermediate between the common school and the college." The "academies ... private schools and private tuition" hardly met this need and, moreover, served the rich better than the "middling and poorer classes." For reasons of state the lack of higher educational opportunities for the poorer class was a serious situation, claimed Boyden, undoubtedly generalizing from his own motivation:

> The State had an interest in the education of the best talent of the community. And this talent was as often found among the middling and lower classes as among the rich - perhaps oftener. For the rich are apt to become luxurious, indolent and lazy. They have not the stimulus of necessity - which is not only the mother of invention - but of diligence - of great effort and progress.

And because academies and private schools proved "unacceptable to the people at large, by reasons of distance and expense ... our Legislature established the high school system ...". The purpose of the high school system, emphasized Boyden, was to make available "preparation for college and the higher branches of learning ... to distinguished industry and talent, in whatever condition and circumstances it might be found".

Boyden made it clear that his vote for the high school, should he so cast it, would not be on his "own account" because he could afford to

---

[36] The fragment of a letter concerning the high school is in ibid., pp. 117-120.

educate his own children. Likewise, he would not vote for one "to supply the rich. They can supply themselves with the means of education". His vote, rather, would be, first, for those individuals "who have not the means of a higher education within themselves." His motivation for providing that means was his conception of "the public good," that is, "it is for the interest of the State that the best talent of the community should be educated, wherever it may be found". Ironically, the very people for whose good Boyden eventually supported a high school had not the enlightened self-interest to accept his graciousness.

But who would a high school educate? Would all attend? Boyden neither advocated nor believed in a democracy of intellect, and his social convictions become even clearer from his remarks on the distribution of ability. Some had not the "capacity" to learn the "higher branches"; others would not have the opportunity; others would not want to; and others would not find the higher learning in "their interest". To imagine that all could learn the higher branches was, in fact, a dangerous illusion. Besides being untrue, that is, it threatened to alter a dalicate social balance, which required hewers of wood and drawers of water. Society needed learned men, "preachers, teachers and authors," but it also required "food, shelter and clothing." And food, shelter and clothing were "not the higher branches of learning." Neither was higher learning"merchandise" which could be bought and sold. In fact, those who had not the need for higher learning had better avoid it: "As a little learning is a dangerous thing-'drink deep or taste not the Pierian Spring.'" Only common school education was "fundamental ... for practical life and it should be made as universal and practical as possible". Indeed, "knowledge of the common branches is about as much as the mass of scholars can acquire during the period of their childhood and youth...".[37]

In proper doses education was a fine tonic. Too little and prosperity faltered while deserving talent went unrewarded. Too much and the intricate social organism no longer functioned properly. Dr. Boyden, essentially, prescribed a meritocracy which would absorb and assimilate the bright, ambitious hard working boy, as he himself had been. But he had no desire to alter the hierarchy which made a social ladder necessary, and with more than a little of the smugness of the man who has made it the hard way, he wanted the ladder itself neither easy to climb nor wide.

As in Beverly, school promoters throughout the state were people intimately connected with the economic transformation of the state. On the state level James Carter, the first great advocate of school reform, based an argument for extended education on the fact that Massachusetts had to industrialize in order to survive.[38] Horace Mann helped push through the Massachusetts legislature bills supporting and assisting railroad construction. George Boutwell was a Merchant. In Lawrence Henry K. Oliver, the most vocal school promoter and a leading candidate for appointment as the third secretary of the Board of Education, was agent for one of the largest cotton mills in the state.[39] This was the former occupation of Joseph White, fourth secretary of the Board of Education. School comitteemen had to represent the most educated citizens; for they had to be able to intelligently examine teachers, inspect schools and write reports. Often the ministry played an active role, but in most towns lay participation was important and critical. Again in Beverly, for many years one of the most active educational reformers was William Thorndike, a rich merchant.[40] And so it was throughout the Commonwealth. The supporters of education wrote the legislation, invested the money and ran the enterprises that brought about the economic and social transformation of Massachusetts.

---

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[38] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *House Documents No. 49*, "Report on the Education of Children in Manufacturing Establishments". On Carter's background and the reasons why Mann rather than he was chosen Secretary of the Board of Education see the illuminating article by Jonathan C. Messerli, "James G. Carter's Liabilities as a Common School Reformer," *History of Education Quarterly*, v. 1, March, 1965, pp. 14-25.

[39] Jesse H. Jones, "Henry Kemble Oliver", in Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of the Statistics of Labor*, March, 1886, Boston, 1886, pp. 3-47.

Wealthy groups had interests other than developing communal resources and promoting limited mobility when they advocated high schools. As changes in the nature of commercial life made a prolonged apprenticeship no longer necessary, some merchants wondered what to do with their adolescent boys. On the night of June 9, 1834, a group of men, "chiefly engaged in commerce", gathered to discuss the education of their sons. Among those present was Nathan Appleton, and the secretary of the meeting was the eminent William Ellery Channing. The merchants agreed that the present system of apprenticeship had become inefficient and wasteful of their sons' time. The men also agreed that "gentlemen, who decline to send their sons to college as being an institution not suited to their preparation for active life, are bound to give them a better education than they now receive". The men had definite educational objectives for their sons, and these objectives suggest a portrait of the ideal New England merchant: astutely making a fortune, conscious of a deep sense of responsibility to society and desirous of continually improving his mind. To the merchants their ideal school would be anything but a place of leisure since it was to provide an arduous preparation for a life in the counting room. A new type of institution was clearly needed, and the merchants thought they saw one at hand. "It was thought, that the present English high school (a very valuable institution) might be so extended as to give all the advantages which are needed".[41]

---

[40] Stone, op. cit., pp. 150-154.

Certainly, many school committees around the state must have been concentrating on moving those with a stake in the economic progress of their towns to support a high school. The Dalton school committee, for one, wrote in 1860 that a high school would offer "greater inducement ... to capitalists from abroad to come and occupy your unoccupied building sites and unimproved water power".[42] Likewise, the Athol committee in 1855 contended that a high school would attract people "who have large scholars to educate ... and thereby increase the population and business of the place". Aside from attracting capital and population, the Committee continued, a high school "would greatly enhance the value of property in town, to a percentage, it is believed, which would of itself more than pay the expenses of the school". The committee concluded that "the town could not make a better pecuniary investment".[43]

---

[41] Report of the meeting accompanies a letter from William Ellery Channing to Nathan Appleton, June 10, 1834, in Appleton papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[42] Dalton.... 1859-1860, 1860 p. 8.

[43] Abstract of the Athol report, Eighteenth Report, pp. 64-65.

If the promoters were correct, then towns which established high schools should have had a far higher per capita valuation than ones which did not. There should have been a significant and positive correlation between the two. In a large sample of towns studied (the details of this study are in Appendix B) in both 1840 (before almost any of them had established a high school) and in 1865, those with high schools had a slightly higher per capita valuation than those which did not.[44] But there was no significant correlation between high school establishment and valuation for either year. Apparently, in spite of promoters' predictions, the high school had no effect on communal wealth.

From the analysis of the vote in Beverly we would predict that the more wealthy members of the community, as well as middle class parents particularly concerned about their children's mobility, would send the most students to high school. From the reaction of the Beverly working class we would expect but few of their children in the high schools. These predictions are strengthened by the general tenor of the pro-high school arguments presented so far. We should expect that the high school would be a minority institution, attended by only a fraction of the eligible children in the town. We should expect, further, that the proportion of eligible children attending was inversely related to the size of the town. That is, it was mainly immigrants and other laborers who swelled the populati of towns in order to man the new mills and factories. Thus, as towns grew the working class elements, who we are supposing did not use the high schools very much, would become disproportionately larger. From a random sample of ten percent of towns and cities that had high schools in 1860 both these predictions are definitely confirmed. In the sample as a whole under 20% of the estimated eligible children went to high school. In the smallest towns (1-3,000) about 28% of the eligible attended. In the medium sized ones (6-8,000), about 15% and in the large cities (over 14,000), approximately 8%.[45]

---

[44] Throughout this Part I shall refer to the statistical study of the state. This study employed a variety of statistical techniques and was performed by computer. In the body of this study I present only the conclusions of the statistical analysis where they are relevant. Interested

The analysis of high school enrollment in individual communities supports this more general finding. One hundred and eighty-one students entered Somerville high school between 1856 and 1861; information about the parents of one-hundred and thirty-five of these has been gathered. These 135 children represent 111 families. In these 111 families, forty-four fathers were owners of businesses (stores or manufacturing concerns), self-employed as merchants or brokers, or masters employing artisans. An additional eight fathers were employed in businesses, mostly as clerks. Five were professionals and six public employees; one was a master mariner and one a shipwright. If we lump these people together as "upper middle class" they comprise 57% of the fathers of high school children. If we consider as slightly lower on the occupational scale, but still middle class, artisans and farmers, there were twenty-six fathers in the former and nine in the latter category. There was one father who was a farm laborer and for ten parents no occupation was listed. (Some of the latter were obviously widows.) No child of a factory operative or of an ordinary laborer entered Somerville high school in these years. Although there

---

readers will find a full discussion of method as well as tables in Appendix B.

[45] For details of this sample see Appendix C.

were over 1,500 Irish immigrants in Somerville, none of their children entered either. Indeed, only three of the fathers were foreign born: one in each England, Nova Scotia and Bavaria. Only twenty-five of the one-hundred and eleven families had children who graduated, but there was little difference in their social background. How typical was Somerville? An analysis of the graduates of Chelsea high school between 1858 and 1864 produces similar conclusions. In our "upper middle class" category were twenty-nine out of the forty-three parents. Eleven were artisans, three had no occupation listed. Again, no operatives, no laborers, no Irish sent children to the high school. In both Chelsea and Somerville it is reasonable to estimate that the lowest occupational categories included at least forty to fifty-per cent of the population.[46] Truly, the high school was a strictly middle class institution.

Educational promoters were ambivalent about the very industrial society that the high schools they supported were supposed to help develop. They felt that industrial and urban life produced the most frightening kinds of social and moral decay. Horace Mann, for one, maintained that "A cardinal object" of the state was the "physical well-being of all the people, - the sufficiency, comfort, competence, of every individual, in regard to food, raiment, and shelter."[47] But the "industrial condition...

---

[46] These results are shown in tabular form in Appendix C. They are based on manuscript records kept in the respective high schools and on manuscript census returns for 1860.

[47] Mann, Life and Works, op. cit., v. 4, p. 245.
On the biography of Mann before he became Secretary of the Board of Education see Jonathan C. Messerli, "Horace Mann: The Early Years, 1796-1837", Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1963.

and business operations" of Massachusetts were producing "fatal extremes of overgrown wealth and desperate poverty".[48] Class divisions, moreover, were being intensified by the growth of cities, for "density of population has always been one of the proximate causes of social inequality". There was a danger, he warned, that America would follow the course of England where agricultural feudalism had receded before a new industrial serfdom accompanied by novel forms of degradation and vice.[49]

Another problem posed by the growth of cities and factories was the hostility of manual laborers to the cultivation of refined manners and taste as well as to benevolence and kindness. To Mann poverty bred barbarity. In cities, "poverty casts its victims into heaps, and stows them away in cellars and garrets ..."; and in cellars and garrets family life and morality degenerated into a mere mockery of their proper form. For Mann the results of urbanization were poverty, crime and vice. Civilization itself was threatened by the rapid and uncontrollable growth of cities, and there was a consequently urgent duty to save "a considerable portion of the rising generation from falling back into the conditions of half-barbarous or of savage life ...".[50]

---

[48] Ibid., p. 250. In the letter to Shaw, op. cit., Mann expressed his view of the consequences of the shift from a rural to an urban civilization:

> ... the new exposure to error, with new temptations to dishonesty, which grow out of a more dense population. If the spontaneous productions of the earth were sufficient for all, men might be honest in practice, without any principle of rectitude because of the absence of temptation. But as population increases, and especially as artificial wants multiply, the temptations increase, and the guards and securities must increase also, or society will deteriorate.

[49] Mann, Life and Works, op. cit., v. 4., pp. 248-250.

The second and third secretaries of the Board of Education, Barnas Sears and George Boutwell, also feared for the destruction of individual morality, the family and society.[51] To Sears immigrants and cosmopolitanism were particularly pernicious.[52] Both Boutwell and Sears stressed that young people were rapidly rushing from a life of purity in the country to the city where temptation lurked. Luxury, sin and the "current of sensuality", according to Sears, were educating the children

---

[50] (Horace Mann) The Massachusetts System of Common Schools being an Enlarged and Revised Edition of the Tenth Annual Report of the First Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Boston, 1848, pp. 84-86.

[51] Barnas Sears, second secretary of the Board of Education, had a long and influential career in education. Born on a farm in the Berkshires and educated in the local common schools, Sears was the only one of the ten children in his family to attend college. After graduation from Brown, Sears, a Baptist, went to the Newton Theological Seminary, and following ordination, became minister to a church in Connecticut, which he shortly left in order to teach at Hamilton College. After a brief period of teaching Sears took a leave of absence from Hamilton as well as from his wife and child to spend three years in Germany and France in order to prepare himself to teach biblical theology. He returned to Hamilton but soon accepted a professorship at Newton Theological Seminary. Within a few years he was president of the Seminary and, in 1848, accepted a new position as Secretary of the Board of Education. Alvah Hovey, his ex-student and memorialist, claimed that Sears consolidated and continued Mann's policies. Through his urbanity (a word repeatedly used by various people in referring to Sears), tact and administrative ability Sears, Hovey asserts, overcame the bitterness and hostility toward the Board aroused by his predecessor. Sears left the Board to become president of Brown, where, in spite of the Civil War, his successful presidency inaugurated reforms which foreshadowed the great university developments later in the century. Sears' talents were next applied to an extremely important task, the Peabody Fund. As General Agent Sears was responsible for administering the grant, and one memorialist has referred to him as the Horace Mann of the South. However, the common schools that he fostered were, with his acquiescence, segregated by race. See Alvah Hovay, Barnas Sears: A Christian Educator, Boston, 1902, and Earle Huddleston West, The Life and Educational Contributions of Barnas Sears, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1961.

[52] On Sears' views concerning immigrants and the influence of the cosmopolitan spirit see Nineteenth Report, pp. 41-50. Sears' view of urban civilization is well illustrated by the following passage in which he maintained that cities "furnish peculiar facilities for the diffusion of corrupt principles and morals". Migrants to cities found:

of the city and competing with schools. To Massachusetts schoolmen the young, unknowingly, were caught in a Faustian dilemma, and Mephistopheles lurked in the cities. The reports of Sears were particularly gloomy. With all of society conspiring against them, what could the schools do? The question Sears and indeed everyone else refused to ask was: If the public schools aided and sustained the growth of urban-industrial civilization, and if, in turn, they were powerless to check its pernicious effects, then was not the extension of public education really the pursuit of social self-destruction?[53]

> in their places of abode, pleasures set before them appealing to every sense, and in gradations adapted to every intellect. The current of sensuality is so strong that it too often sweeps almost everything before it. ... This life of congregated human beings, where money, leisure, shows, and a succession of excitements are the objects of pursuit, is now, with inconceivable power, educating myriads of children.

In this situation Sears asked:

> are the public schools justly responsible if ... a new generation should not turn out to be all that the friends of virtue and humanity could desire: Are we called upon to promise or to believe, that unaided and alone, they will have the power to turn back the tide of degeneracy setting in from so many points?

[53] Boutwell's participation in the general fear of social disintegration comes through vividly in his reports. For instance, see, Twenty-First Report, p. 61:

> The activity of business, by which fathers have been diverted from the custody and training of their children; the claims of fashion and society which have led to some neglect of family government on the part of mothers; the aggregations of large populations in cities and towns, always unfavorable to the physical and moral welfare of children; the comparative neglect of agriculture and the consequent loss of moral strength in the people, are all facts to be considered when we estimate the power of the public school to resist evil and to promote good.

Also, see, Twenty-Third Report, pp. 55-6.

> As in some languages there is no word which expresses the true idea of home, so in our manufacturing towns there are many persons who know nothing of the reality. Of this class are multitudes of children and youth. In the agricultural districts such cases are rare; and I cannot doubt that much of the moral and intellectual

> health enjoyed by the agricultural population is due to this circumstance.

In the face of the decline of the family and society, Massachusetts schoolmen proclaimed that the state should assert itself in its character as a parent who should guard its family of children. Mann stressed the natural right of the child to education and the duty of society, acting as a trustee and the final arbiter of property, to assure the fulfillment of the child's rights. To Sears, too, the state was kindly, a "nourishing mother, as wise as she is beneficient."[54] But the softness of the mother turned into the sternness of the patriarch as problems increased. In the writings of Boutwell and the fourth secretary, Joseph White, the state through its school system became an engine for instilling social discipline. To Boutwell the school:

> inculcates habits of regularity, punctuality, constancy and industry in the pursuits of business; through literature and the sciences in their elements, and, under some circumstances, by an advanced course of study, it leads the pupils toward the fountain of life and wisdom; and by moral and religious instruction daily given, some preparation is made for the duties and temptations of the world.[55]

---

[54] Mann, The Massachusetts ... Common Schools, op. cit., is a good example. On p. 17 Mann wrote:

> I believe in the existence of a great, immutable principle of natural law, or natural ethics ... which proves the absolute right of every human being that comes into the world to an education; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all.

On pp. 18-31 Mann developed his theory of property and on p. 147 claimed that Massachusetts was an especially good state since it was "parental . . .in government." In the same vein he wrote, p. 29:

> The new-born infant must have sustenance, and shelter, and care. If the natural parents are removed, or parental ability fails,--in a word, if parents either cannot or will not supply the infant's wants,-- then society at large,--the government,--having assumed to itself the ultimate control of property,--is bound to step in and fill the parent's place.

Sears' comment is in Nineteenth Report, p. 50.

With Boutwell the school became the means of instilling in the population the qualities necessary for success in industrial society. His successor, White, also stressed the formative qualities of education. "Now a great and good thing," White wrote, "is the legislation which wisely seeks to train the intellect and form the character of a people . . ."[56] To Joseph White the state, through the schools, should transform the tyranny of the majority into an organized and effective mechanism for social discipline.

High school promoters shared the secretaries' analyses of the disastrous course of society and argued that the high school would solve at least three outstanding community problems. In the first

---

[55] Twenty-First Report, pp. 5-6.

[56] Twenty-Ninth Report, p. 48. With Joseph White the tradition of eminent secretaries at the Board ended. White, unlike his predecessors, came from a well-to-do family of merchants in Worcester County. He attended Williams College and started to prepare for a legal career, White, however, decided against the law as a career and, instead, took a position in Lowell as an agent for one of the largest cotton mills in the state. An ardent Presbyterian and a devoted Whig, White entered politics as a state senator. His term as Secretary to the Board lasted seventeen years, and after his retirement he evidently devoted himself to the local affairs of the Berkshires, to the business of his church and of Williams College and to the promotion of local historiography. One memorialist claimed that his term at the Board represented "much the most successful work of his life." Yet White's work evidently had severe limitations:

> His own quick temper was an infirmity, an indolent habit of mind and body, a native tendency to postpone impending duty, and a consequent facility of throwing off, perhaps at a late hour, upon other shoulders responsibilities which were properly his own, marred more or less during all his later years his services both to the public and the college.

place, the high school in theory catered to the poor as well as the rich and was a vital antidote to the stratification, strife and social disintegration that educators thought they saw around them. The Windhendon School Committee claimed that the influence of the high school "in binding the population together, and promoting good feeling and harmony, must be obvious to everyone."[57] To many Massachusetts educators an ideal society, one which represented the aims of the founding fathers, was free of rigid stratification, harmonious and without acrimony. To achieve this harmony, to recreate the alleged social unity of pre-industrial civilization, high schools were a necessity.[58]

For biographical detail on White see A Tribute to the Memory of Joseph White, no place, no date. The unfavorable comment, surprising in a memorial, is from an essay in Tribute by Arthur L. Berry.

[57] Winchendon, 1852-53, 1853, pp. 17-18.

[58] See, *e.g.*, Twenty-Eighth Report, pp. 83-84, where, referring specifically to high schools, White wrote:

> The children of the rich and the poor, of the honored and the unknown, meet together on common ground. Their pursuits, their aims and aspirations are one. No distinctions find place, but such as talent and industry and good conduct create. In the competitions, the defeats, and the successes of the schoolroom, they meet each other as they are to meet in the broader fields of life before them; they are taught to distinguish between the essential and true, and the fractious and false, in character and condition. . . Thus a vast and mutual benefit is the result. Thus, and only thus, can the rising generation be best prepared for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in a free commonwealth. No foundation will be laid in our social life for the brazen walls of caste; and our political life, which is but the outgrowth of the social, will pulsate in harmony with it, and so be kept true to the grand ideals of the fathers and founders of the republic.

When we understand the longing for unity of high school promoters and their essential ambivalence to the society they were helping to create, then we can appreciate better the attitude of Robert Rantoul and high school promoters in Beverly. Both Rantoul and Boyden stressed the desirability of a more organic, closely knit social order. Surely, they must have been aware that throughout the state people were arguing that a high school would promote this goal. The high school, that is, would provide a counter-balance to the same divisive economic forces that it was to help unleash. Thus, support for a high school was a complex reaction that stemmed from an essentially ambivalent perception of society. The high school was an ideal innovation because it would allegedly serve the frequently conflicting values and interests of educational reformers.

The high school was supposed to solve other community problems as well. Promoters claimed that the school would serve as an agent of community civilization. The tone of the community would be raised; cultural as well as social unity would prevail and upwardly mobile youths could be socially as well as intellectually prepared for their new status.[59] Another problem was the attitude of parents, continually

---

[59] Lincoln, 1853-54, 1854, pp. 6-7, claims that the effect of a well conducted high school:

> is to elevate the sentiments, the taste, the manners of the pupils. It gives no room for the awkwardness, vulgarity and rudeness in behavior and speech that are too generally tolerated, and sometimes encouraged even, in common district schools. . . . It introduces its pupils to a higher civilization and refinement, and does what otherwise might not be done, to prepare them for occupying exalted positions in social life, and for doing much for

lamented by school committees. Parents failed to appreciate the values of education, spoiled their children and frustrated the efforts of the school. The failure of parents to provide moral discipline and their general lack of interest in the schools was a persistent theme in every school report consulted. To school committees the problem was extremely serious because parental apathy and hostility were not only thwarting educational advance but promoting those very social tendencies that educators were trying to check.[60]

The high schools, argued Barnas Sears in 1854, were a means of overcoming the problem of parental apathy. The establishment of high schools, he wrote, "gives the schools themselves a place in the estimation of the people, which they never held before."

> the welfare of their fellow men. Are these benefits. . .confined to those individuals who attend the school? By no means, the spirit of improvement here imbibed, goes home with them, and the whole family feels its inspiration. The intellectual light that is kept burning there, sends its rays abroad through the community. The refining process here commenced, is carried into the social circle. The lessons of politeness and courtesy that may and should be learned here, will be repeated at every fireside and practiced in every relation of life.

[60] See, e.g., Barnstable, 1860-61, 1861, p. 27:

> The great defect in our day, is the absence of governing or controlling power on the part of parents, and the consequent insubordination of children. Children are allowed their own way; self-will is their law; hence flows conceit and a monstrous precocity. . . . What the parent makes them the teacher finds them. . . .Parents are bound so to control and regulate their children that they will be tractable and capable of respect and obedience. . . .Our schools are rendered inefficient by the apathy of parents.

See also Watertown, 1856-57, 1857, p. 4:

> Common modesty. . .is often shocked in the neighborhood of the playground, by indecencies of language and conduct, which seem to be the prevailing dialect and manner of life; and which it is manifestly the duty of somebody to reform. Peaceable travelers, whose

Sears continued, "We need not go back many years to find prejudice against the public schools," but the high schools had dispelled antipathy and apathy to public education because "There are no better schools in the Commonwealth than some of our public high schools, and to these families of the highest character now prefer to send their children."[61] But the fact that parents of the "highest character", meaning probably the socially and financially prominent, used the high schools is no proof that the antipathy of the working class was overcome. In fact, the undisguised harangues of school committees made one feature of educational reform particularly clear. The school committees saw themselves arrayed against the mass of parents. The school committees, themselves, noted that parents were uncomprehending and indifferent. On this reluctant citizenry school committees were unashamedly trying to impose educational reform and innovation. They were not answering the demands of a clamorous working class: they, the communal leaders, were imposing the demands; they were telling the majority, your children shall be educated, and as we see fit.

The emphasis of high school promoters on the democratic and socially unifying potential of their pet innovation raises serious questions about

---

> habiliment or equipage is not of the approved pattern or constitution, are hooted at, and persons quietly pursuing their daily avocations, are pelted with snow-balls.

See also the following reports: Barnstable, 1858, p. 18 and 1861, p. 18; Fairhaven, 1863, pp. 7-8; Dartmouth, 1860, pp.3-4; Groton, 1850, p.5; Townsend, 1862, pp. 11-12; Webster, 1855-56; Monson, 1857, p. 17 and 1859, p.14; Dalton, 1859, pp. 1-2; Rockport, 1855, p.3.

[61] Eighteenth Report, p. 59.

the relationship between ideology and motivation. For, as we have noted, the high school was not a working class institution; the high school did not reflect the social composition of the community. It did not serve as a means of boosting the lower class child up the economic ladder. At least partly the ideology of high school promoters was a rationalization of their own interests. The most articulate spokesmen, also economic promoters, were deeply ambivalent towards the society for which they were responsible, and they sought innovations that would simultaneously promote economic growth and prevent the consequences that industrialism had brought in other societies, especially England. The high school was an ideal innovation because it would allegedly serve both these ends. Promoters' attachment to this ideology gave them a good psychic reason for avoiding the confrontation of the actual facts of high school attendance. To have realized the disparity between theory and actuality would have raised too many haunting questions, too many doubts about the real nature of the promoters' impact upon society.

For many parents who used the high school the myth was just fine. The entire community was supporting an institution most useful in terms of their own purposes. For middle class boys the high school probably served as both a means of status maintenance and an entree into the business world. Information has been found on thirteen boys who left Somerville high school between 1856 and 1860. Of these, eight became clerks, two also entered business and three became apprentices. For all but one of the apprentices the jobs represented an occupation different from that of their fathers, who, with three exceptions, were not in business. The seven sons of artisans and farmers probably saw the high school as a way of helping to retain a middle class status during a time when mechanization and other economic alterations made the future of their fathers' occupations less secure. They probably also hoped that through business they could rise above the social level of their parents. Wealthy parents, owners of prosperous businesses for instance, may have been moved by the same concerns as the Boston merchants. For them the high school would provide a fine way of occupying their sons during the years of adolescence when an extended apprenticeship was no longer necessary.

Substantially more girls than boys attended high schools. For some girls the high school probably offered a good preparation for teaching. Indeed, teacher training was a function that promoters often ascribed to high schools. Teaching was undoubtedly the most attractive vocational goal for the middle class girl who wanted to earn some money. All the other occupations populated by large numbers of females were manual, arduous and decidedly lower class. For girls who had no intention of becoming gainfully employed the high school probably offered a relatively painless way of passing the time until they came of marrying age.[61a]

[61a] On the emphasis on high schools as providing preparation for teaching see Chelsea, 1858, pp. 27-28. On female occupations see the state census for 1865, pp. 142-143. The largest category was domestics, employing 27,393; next came operatives, 20,152; third came teaching, 6,050. Other groups over a thousand were: in order of size, seamstresses, shoe workers, tailoresses, dressmakers, straw and palm leaf workers, milliners, laundresses, nurses and clerks.

Educational reform, especially the high school, was presented as an innovation directly aimed at urbanizing, industrializing communities. It was to simultaneously serve the status needs of children within these communities, promote general development and prosperity, and save towns from disintegrating into an immoral and degenerate chaos. If these contentions were heeded, then it should have been in the communities undergoing the most rapid and severe transformation, the most urban and industrial areas, that high schools were established. It should have been inthese places that schoolmen were contending most vigorously for innovation, most actively trying to overcome the apathy of the mass. In these areas the concern for education should have been most marked by not only innovation but high expenditures on schooling.

These suppositions are, for the most part, valid, an extensive statistical study of the state has demonstrated. The establishment of high schools was related to all the dominant patters of urbanism and industrialism; and it was in the more urban and industrial areas that greater numbers of children over 15 attended school. High school establishment was, however, relatively more associated with urban than with manufacturing characteristics. This is not surprising, for it was more specifically the urban phenomena that were signalled out by promoters as susceptible of correction by a high school. The harangues against the new society that have been presented stressed the problems of urban poverty, squalor and social disorganization. Moreover, high schools were especially associated with large numbers of people employed in commerce. Again, this is an expected conclusion. For it was to solve the problem of an anachronistic apprenticeship for adolescents headed towards a commercial career that the Boston merchants advocated a high school.

As for measures of school spending, both high per pupil expenditure and a high school tax rate were usually associated with the establishment of a high school But this general relation obscures subtle differences. For spending on education was by no means as clearly related to social measures as was high school establishment. Usually, the higher the per capita valuation of a town, the lower was its tax rate. The converse was true for per pupil expenditure. These relations are predictable. The more money a town had the smaller the proportion needed to sustain a high per pupil expenditure. In one situation, however, both measures of school spending were high. This was in wealthy suburban towns. This finding confirms the contention that educational concern was primarily a characteristic of the middle and upper social groups, for in these towns, where manufacturing was not extensive, there would be fewer of the kinds of people who stood in the way of the improvement of schools. Similarly, in towns where agriculture became of increasing importance the school tax rate was particularly low. In these areas the townspeople would see but little relation between their own welfare and the furtherance of industrial growth, and they would be affected little by social disorder right at their doorstep. Yet, per pupil expenditure was depressed by the rapid and sharp development of manufacturing. In this situation the lower expense was probably as much the result of the problem of an influx of immigrants with large families and few taxable resources as of parsimony. How the problem of population increase was in fact met is a topic that will be discussed presently.

II. Local opposition to Reform.

1. Academies and Districts

The mechanisms through which high schools were supposed to accomplish their goals become clearer from an examination of a third series of contentions advanced by their supporters. These arguments focused on the alleged deficiencies of academies. To build a truly effective system of public education, many schoolmen argued, it was necessary to eliminate the pernicious influence of private schools. The whole academy-private school issue is very complex. The word academy covered a multitude of institutions varying in character from small privately run schools to the famous endowed academies. The effect of an academy, of any type, upon a community and related issues are by no means as clear as is desirable. However, the anti-academy arguments are clear; and they are especially significant because they contain many of the same themes employed in another series of arguments, those criticizing the district schools. A comparison of arguments against academies and district schools highlights areas of concern to high school promoters.

Academies, it was frequently maintained, injured the public schools by dampening public interest in "those means of education which are common to the whole people."[62] At the same time, they withdrew many able children from public schools, and their existence, so critics said, provided a safety valve for disaffected children who, unhappy for some reason in the public schools, could always transfer. In Hadley, one town where the latter problem had been especially serious, the replacement of the academy by a high school had increased the effectiveness of the whole school system, the committee claimed.[63] Academies were also pernicious because they took children away from home. School committees repeatedly contended that, for some reason, children at academies were in moral danger. The academies were places of "temptation and vice."[64] Why this fear of academies? What was going on within their halls? The emphasis on the immoral tendencies of academies, the desire of Boston merchants to provide strong discipline for their children, school committee complaints of parental inability to control children: all suggest that adults had serious reservations about the inner strength of the younger generation. Some of the complaints explicitly, and others by implication, connect the complaints about the younger generation with adolescence.

---

[62] James G. Carter, Essays upon Popular Education, Boston, 1826, p. 8.

[63] Abstract of Hadley school report in Eighteenth Report, p. 178.

[64] Dalton, 1859-60, p. 8, claims that at academies children were exposed to "temptations and vice." See also Attleborough, 1862-63, p. 12, which charges that children who attended academies,

> because they have nothing else to do, to spend father's money, or simply to gratify the earnest wish of their parents to have them educated, are better off at home . . . They are less likely to fall into bad practices under parental restraints, than among strangers, mingling with the giddy youths that are usually found at academies.

Indeed, the high school was a major social innovation for handling adolescents. The key difference, besides cost, between a high school and an academy was that in the former children stayed at home. Because adolescents got into trouble away from home, the way to control them was to prolong their dependency, to delay the time at which they sallied forth, independent, into the world. Just why the prolongation of dependency was so important can better be understood after an investigation of pedagogical theory and a comparison of the problems of academy, high school and reform school, and this issue will be returned to in Part Three.

There was, it must be added, more to the anti-academy argument than concern over adolescent behavior. Academies involved considerable expense; besides tuition there was the cost of board and spending money.[65] The high school offered an economical means of solving a social problem. In his reports George Boutwell sustained an effective harangue which pointed out some other failings of academies. Academies, Boutwell asserted, were generally in a more difficult financial position than public schools and, through lack of funds, could not offer an equivalent education. If academies were provided with ample money, then parents were incurring an unnecessary expense. They were paying taxes to support the public schools and tuition at academies. The two sources of money, combined, could furnish one extremely effective system.[66]

---

[65] See, *e.g.*, *Winchendon, 1852-53, 1853*, pp. 16-17;
To send children to other places demands a greater outlay of money, than would be needful to sustain a school at home; and here we see the policy of good schools is economical. There is the expense of traveling; the increased expense of living away from home; and the item of spending money, which will always be larger, and often necessarily so, than when the pupils remain under the parental roof.

Besides, in academies the numbers were often too small to apply the latest pedagogical theory, which involved dividing the schools into grades (discussed below), an excellent innovation offered by a public school system which included a high school. Finally, Boutwell contended that the academy offered too sheltered a life and did not prepare children for the realities of society. "In this age," he claimed, "the world is neither reformed, improved nor governed by the education of the cloister."[67] Boutwell, here and in other arguments, was asserting just the opposite of the parent's contention. Whatever interpretation one took of the morality of academies, they came out a poor second to public high schools. Unlike the academy, finally,the high school, it was said, was a thoroughly democratic institution since it fostered the principle of equality of opportunity. In the absence of high schools the relation between mobility and education meant that opportunity had become the prerogative of the wealthy.[68]

---

[66] Twentieth Report, pp. 43-44.

[67] Loc. cit.

[68] White, in Twenty-Eighth Report, pp. 43-44, claimed that the high school "brings home the benefits of a superior education alike to all classes of the people, and thus beautifully illustrates and makes practical the theory of equal rights, on which our institutions are founded." And Watertown, 1855-56, p. 16, asks, "Shall not the field be left open for a fair intellectual competition? Shall the poverty of the parents be visited upon the mind of the offspring?"

But the establishment of public high schools, as we have seen, did little to promote the mobility of the lowest social groups. Surely, high school promoters could not have really expected that the children of the operatives and laborers would attend. They knew only too well the apathy of these people towards education. In this situation their ideology again served as a rationalization. By stressing that high schools were democratic, that they fostered equality of opportunity, educational promoters could cover personal motives with the noblest of sentiments. What they were doing, really, was spreading throughout the whole community the burden of educating a small minority of the children.

Interestingly, the terms of the academy-high school controversy were also largely the terms of the district school - high school debate. Under the prevailing administrative system towns were divided into school districts, each of which maintained and managed its own school with the aid of funds from the town school committee and the state. For years educators vociferously and nearly unanimously condemned this practice. The "prudential committeemen" in charge of separate districts doled out teaching jobs to friends and relatives, often regardless of their qualifications, and the selection of teachers frequently became a source of intra-district rivalry and animosity. The town committees, concerned with the whole town as opposed to single districts, distributed the money to the districts and real or alleged inequities were frequently the cause of inter-district rivalries. Indeed, school committee reports give the impression, both implicitly and explicitly, that districts often acted like separate towns. Another source of hostility within districts was the location of the school, an issue which frequently produced heated conflict.[69]

The first four secretaries of the Board of Education were all hostile to the district system, but none expressed their contentions with more detail and clarity than George Boutwell. Boutwell employed all the arguments already noted. In addition, he added that the scanty population and financial resources of many districts made it hard to persuade residents to pay adequate taxes, and, thus, appropriations were not made according to what was desirable but according to the amount of money that could be raised. To convince knowledgeable and able men to serve as prudential committeemen, Boutwell lamented, was difficult, and consequently district schools were usually administered in ignorance of the latest pedagogical theory. District policy was made by men "Assembled by concert, in the shades of evening, in a dimly lighted house." There the policy makers hurriedly consummated "their schemes" and built an educational system suited to their own material or personal requirements, not to the needs of the children.[70]

---

[69] See, *e.g.*, *Twenty-Ninth Report*, p. 14, where the Board of Education wrote that they hoped communities, at their next town meeting, would vote

> the total abolition of the cumbrous and unwieldy district system, which has so long clogged the progress of educational improvement in the towns where it has been suffered to remain. Reason and fact alike condemn it as a fruitful source of inconvenience and evils. It perpetuates poor schoolhouses, inefficient teachers, and neighborhood feuds and jealousies. It prevents the equalization of school advantages, and stands in the way of a proper classification of pupils. As compared with the town system, it is at once expensive and inefficient.

See also George H. Martin, *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, New York, 1894, p. 114.

Both the law and practical considerations required the high school to be a town school, administered by the town school committee, and drawing its students from all the districts. The high school was in one sense an administrative device for modifying the district system. Many districts resented the surrender of autonomy and power that the high school represented, and the district system proved an obstacle to high school development.[71] Many people argued, moreover, that large numbers of children would live too far away from the high school to be able to attend and that parents, therefore, would be paying taxes to support schools from which they could derive no benefit. The issue of school location, a source of intense controversy within the small districts themselves, became a major obstacle to the development of high schools when raised on the town scale.[72] Population density was an issue related

---

[70] For Boutwell on districts see Twenty-First Report, pp. 78-80; and Twenty-Third Report, pp. 76-78. Boutwell's views on districts went through an interesting evolution. When he commenced his work as secretary he believed that districts were harmful but that they could not be abolished within the century, and he consequently urged some modifications in the system. A few years later, however, he openly reversed his former position and declared that districts, much worse than he had imagined, had to be abolished as soon as possible.

[71] Sears, in Nineteenth Report, p. 53, wrote, concerning the opposition of districts to high schools:

> local prejudices already existing will come into increase the difficulty. Instead of looking dispassionately at the benefit of the whole, and favoring that arrangement which will accomplish the greatest good with the least sacrifice, parties will sometimes be induced by the arts of selfish and designing men, to consult only their own passion and prejudices, and refuse to advance any other interest than their own.

[72] See, e.g., Lincoln, 1852-53, 1853, p. 5.

to school location and inter-district rivalry, and towns which reported the greatest difficulties in overcoming the autonomy of districts were generally the ones which conceived of themselves as the most thinly populated. Nearly every set of school reports read, as well as other sources, considered relatively high population density a prerequisite for the founding of a high school.[73]

The district system also fostered a pedagogical practice which most educators felt was unsound. In most district schools children of all ages were taught in one room by one teacher. Throughout the pre-Civil War period educators argued that this was an inefficient method of instruction and that children would acquire a better education in graded schools. In Beverly the school committee reminded the town that there was no longer an academy and called attention to the pedagogical problems of district school teachers who tried to introduce high school subjects. Both younger and older children suffered, and the harried teacher was unable to do anything effectively.[74] Graded schools, in which students of the same age worked together and stimulated each other, were a more effective and efficient pedagogical device, and the high school was to form the apex of a reorganized, graded school system which would include, ideally, a number of district schools, and, at the top of the system, a high school.[75]

---

[73] See, e.g., Nineteenth Report, p. 53; Eighteenth Report, p. 56; Dartmouth, 1865-66, 1866, p. 4 and Dalton, 1860-61, 1861, p. 7.

[74] Beverly, 1857-58, 1858, pp. 4-12.

George Emerson, a member of the Board of Education and the first high school teacher in America, stressed another virtue of graded schools. Class rather than individual promotion, he maintained, would offer a "healthful stimulus to exertion. . ." The prevailing practice of school organization, like the monitorial system, fostered intense competition. Children were seated in rows according to their rank in class, and when a child failed in recitation, he moved to the end of the row. Most educators agreed that some type of competition was necessary as a stimulus, but intra-personal competition, competition with oneself, would produce an equal amount of effort without harmful social implications. The latter was the type of competition encouraged in graded schools where advancement was from class to class so that all who attained a prescribed level would be promoted. "Strive not," Emerson told the students of Boston English High School, "to surpass each other,-strive rather to surpass yourselves."[76]

---

[75] For a long and thorough discussion of grading see John Brubacher, ed., Henry Barnard on Education, New York, 1931, pp. 96-104. See also Twenty-Seventh Report, p. 79 and abstract of Marshfield report in Nineteenth Report, p. 223:

> grading schools brings scholars of similar attainments together; the number of classes is diminished, and the amount of instruction which the scholar receives directly from the teacher is correspondingly increased.

[76] George B. Emerson, "Address on Education," Common School Journal, v.X,1848, pp.321-326. Robert C. Watertown, A Memoir of George Barrell Emerson, Cambridge, 1884, p. 8. Emerson's claim as first high school teacher rests on the fact that he was first teacher at Boston English, usually considered the first high school. On this point see also Arthur A. Norton,

Graded schools, thus, were thoroughly democratic since the reward was within the reach of all who tried. In graded schools equality of opportunity would be extended to the schoolroom itself. Here, again, the goals of equality and opportunity were to be attained by the high school. The attack on the wrong sort of competition suggests also that educators were trying to create a school with a built-in social security principle, a school in which failure would not be disastrous. In this sense their efforts reflected the status anxieties of middle-class parents in a time of social fluidity. Loss of status, moreover, meant sinking to the level of the operative class, represented by the immigrants who, to many people, were scarcely civilized. The attempt to assure a steady if slow promotion within the classroom and to mitigate the results of failure were, then, a projection onto the school of the tensions created by the shifting economic basis of the state.[77] Educators were once again trying to effect a synthesis: the promotion of industrialism within the framework of an idealized rural society.

---

ed., The First Normal School in America, The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift, Cambridge, 1926, pp. 99-100.

[77] See, e.g., Oscar Handlin, "The Horror," in Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life, Boston, 1950, Anchor ed., 1957, p. 125:

> In a mobile society there was a constant danger of the loss of status. Everything was possible in a period in which the small rural town receded in importance, in which the village found itself ringed about with factories, and in which the family farm lost the stability it was never to recover. . .no American could disregard the growing armies of the proletariat, of the hired laborers and tenant farmers, of the millions of tramps -- all existing in the brutish misery that was the penalty of their failure. For the anxious father the risks of fall were as great as the opportunities to rise.
>
> It was possible to minimize the risk and maximize the opportunity through a proper start in life; and now more than ever capital and education were the means.

Graded school systems had still more benefits. A high school would raise the inadequate educational attainment of the children through inspiring a whole school system to greater effort as well as through its own curriculum. Pupils would strive for the prestige of success in the entrance examinations, and teachers would strive for the prestige of having successful pupils. This would be a beneficial competition, for the high school, open to all who qualified, again offered the supreme advantage of a reward attainable by all through hard work.[78] Separating the older from the younger pupils, educators maintained, would eliminate many discipline problems, and within graded schools a correct sex distribution of teachers could be achieved. Pedagogical theory held that female teachers were preferable for younger children and male for older.[79] A streamlined school system would require, in addition, no increase in the number of schools, and if all the older children were gathered into one school, only one male teacher need be hired. Thus, a number of the more expensive masters in district schools could be replaced by females paid a third to a half as much.

Relevant comments on the role of status in this period are also found in David Donald. "Toward a Reconsideration of the Abolitionists," and "An Excess of Democracy," in *Lincoln Reconsidered*, New York, 1947, Vintage edition, 1961. On downward social mobility and its impelling force see also Theodore Parker, *The Collected Works of Theodore Parker*, Frances Power Cobbe, ed., London, 1864, v.VII; pp. 105, 123 and 194.

[78] See, *e.g.*, *Fairhaven, 1851-52,* 1852, p. 11 and *Twenty-Eighth Report*, p. 81.

George Boutwell implied that the feminization of the teaching force was more than desirable; it was a necessity since men were leaving teaching for more lucrative opportunities.[80]

Evidence to support Boutwell's statement is hard to find. From one small sample, however, comes data for his case. Biographical data exists for thireteen male teachers at Holliston Academy between 1836 and 1844. Of these thirteen, four were ministers. Of the nine who were not ministers, seven eventually left teaching for a full time business career and two for medicine. One of the ministers also left both religious and pedagogical callings for the textile business. Except for one of the doctors, none of the nine future businessmen were in college when they were teaching at the academy. Thus, they do not fit the stereotype of the male teacher as vacationing college student. All seven of the future businessmen also taught at schools other than the academy, in different communities. Their tenure varied, two stayed in teaching for five years,

---

[79] See e.g., abstract of the Braintree report, in Nineteenth Report, p. 203:

> the scholars being nearly of the same age and standing, the same mode of government is adapted to the whole school, which renders the efforts of the teacher to maintain order easier and more efficient . . . . Another advantage gained by grading the schools is, that it renders it easier to select appropriate teachers. Among teachers of equal literary qualifications, there may be a great diversity in the capability of governing and disciplining a school. Females, generally, are best adapted to govern and instruct the Primary schools . . . . Experience abundantly evinces that the education of children of that variety of age usually found in large districts, is best promoted by placing the older and the younger in separate schools, with a female teacher for the latter, and a male teacher for the former.

[80] Twentieth Report, pp. 42-43.

one for four, one for two, one for twelve, one for eighteen and one for "several" years. Apparently none ever did attend college. Some probably intended to make teaching a career, only to be lured away by developing commercial opportunities. Others may well have looked on teaching as a way to both stay alive and establish a local reputation while waiting for the right business opportunity to appear. These men did not, however, lose all contact with educational affairs; at least four of the seven businessmen were active on local and state education committees. Nevertheless, this small sample suggests that one variety of male teacher was the young man on the make. Whatever their reasons for leaving, the teachers at Holliston Academy do support Boutwell's assertion that young men were quitting the pedagogical business for more lucrative opportunies.[81]

Feminization was good and it was cheap. Between 1840 and 1860 the percentage of males teaching school dropped from about sixty to fourteen.[82] Which was the real reason: economy or propriety? If all went according to the theory, we should find that feminization was associated with graded school systems, which would be marked by a high school. We should find, too, that feminization was not associated with a low level of expenditure. For it was presented not as a means of achieving a reduction in expense but as a way of getting more for the same money. These expectations are not confirmed by the statistical analysis. There was no significant relation between feminization and high schools. There was a significant association between feminization and a low level of expenditure on public education. For the most part, female teachers were introduced because they were cheap.

---

[81] Silas L. Loomis, Record of the Holliston Academy, 1836-1844, Washington, 1876, pp. 7-8 and 30-61, is the source from which this information was compiled.

[82] See Appendix A.

Of course, there were excellent reasons for a mile parsimony. The number of children was increasing rapidly, and the additions to the population were mainly the children of poor immigrants who could contribute little to school taxes. To run the educational system economically and efficiently, thus, was not stinginess but realism. Essentially the same group of people as before had to pay for the education of many more children. This is what made feminization so important. Here, too, the arguments against the economic drain caused by academies and for the economy of high schools become particularly relevant. Feminization and high schools, however, were sincerely believed to be desirable for their own sakes. Deeply pervading educational thought was the belief that both economy and improvement were possible. Actually, throughout this period per pupil expense increased markedly, but the school tax rate did not. Rising property valuations enabled towns to increase the amount of expenditure on schools while spending the same proportion of their income. All this points to a conclusion that taxpayers were unwilling to spend more than a fairly fixed amount of their income on schools and that one important dynamic of educational reform in this period was the effort, under the impact of a growing population, to extend and improve education within this limit.

The parallels between the methods of educational and industrial reorganization in this period are striking. Women made up an increasing proportion of the industrial as well as the educational labor force.

In industry the growth of larger units of production was part of a process of rationalization: the subdivision of processes in the manufacture of goods and the gathering of all the workers engaged in making a product under one roof. Workers, moreover, were given training to increase their efficiency. Educational reorganization reflected the same trends. The teaching process was to be subdivided; each teacher, ideally, would be responsible for but a part of a student's education, and the teachers would be trained in the new normal schools. Overlap between schools, where possible, was to be eliminated and larger, more efficient units created through regrouping. Rationalization, the division of labor, training and feminization: all four characteristics marked both industry and education. To account for these innovations in industry and to explain their comparatively more pronounced features in America than in England, H. J. Habakkuk has argued persuasively that the dominant cause was a shortage of labor. Spurred on by the scarcity and high cost of labor, manufacturers had

> a greater inducement to organise their labour efficiently. The dearness of American labour gave manufacturers an inducement to increase its marginal productivity in all possible ways.... The shortage of labour led generally to longer hours of work, to a general emphasis on the saving of time and a sense of urgency about getting the job done .... In the U.S.A. the proportion of employed females to males was higher than in England.... The most conspicuous example of the efficient use of labour is the training that the American manufacturers gave their workers so that each was able to handle more looms.... It is no accident that scientific systems of labour management originated in America....[83]

---

[83] H. J. Habbakuk, American and British Technology in the Nineteenth Century: The Search for Labour-Saving Inventions, Cambridge (England), 1962, pp. 25 and 45-48.

Habbakuk's argument can be extended from industry to education. School committees were faced with a rapid increase in numbers of children because of immigration, a scarcity of men because of industrial and commercial opportunities and a consequent probable enormous rise in school costs. In this situation schoolmen like industrialists sought to increase the "marginal productivity" of labor through training, feminization, innovation and reorganization.

At this point it is important to note the similarities, already referred to, in criticisms leveled at both academies and district schools. Boutwell, it will be recalled, argued that both academies and district schools had financial resources too limited to allow the institution of graded schools and really effective pedagogy. Both,moreover, involved the duplication of facilities and the consequent doubling of expenditures. In the long run public, town administered schools would be more effective and less expensive. Academies and district schools alike contributed to the maintenance of community strife and prevented the attainment of the social harmony necessary, more than ever, in an industrializing society. Both, moreover, were essentially undemocratic. Parents could not control private schools and cliques controlled districts while both hindered equality of opportunity. The poor child could not receive the benefits of an academy education, and children suffered in districts too poor to have adequate schools. Finally, the existence of both academies and district schools allegedly hindered the institution of high schools. In attacking private and district schools high school promoters were really fighting the same battle.

But did academies really hinder the development of high schools? Was educational improvement the real motive behind the dual fight of high school promoters? The answer to the first question must be considered in two parts, for unincorporated and incorporated academies. The statistical study shows that the sort of town that had the most unincorporated academies in 1840 had a public high school by 1865. That is, these were the urban towns with large numbers of merchants. In light of merchants' attitude toward high schools, which we have seen, it is not surprising that this shift occurred. Unincorporated academies, thus, as a rule did not hinder the establishment of public high schools. For incorporated academies the evidence is not so clear. Apparently, in communities with large numbers of professional people in 1840 there was often an incorporated academy, and this academy usually continued its existence through the next two and one half decades. In some instances such an institution hindered the development of public high schools. Such an instance was Groton. By looking at Groton we can watch the unfolding of the two-fold battle of a school committee against a district system and an academy. We can also suggest one answer to the second question, the real motives of the beleaguered committees, and we can connect their two-pronged attack more clearly with the battle to establish high schools.

2. Groton, A Case in Point

"In 1835," according to George Boutwell, "the town of Groton was a place of much importance relatively. It was the residence of several men of more than local fame."[84] In the late '30's Groton was primarily an agricultural community with very few manufacturing establishments. Twelve men and six women made boots, probably at home. Two tanneries employed four people; six men and five women made hats in one factory and two establishments for the manufacture of chairs and cabinetwares employed six individuals. Two hundred and forty-five women made clothing, probably at home, and an unspecified number of individuals made palm leaf hats, also at home. During 1837 somewhere in the town one hundred and thirty soapstone pumps, sixty-four axletrees and three hundred dollars worth of mathematical instruments were manufactured.[85]

By 1865, the amount of manufacturing had increased considerably. Two establishments for the manufacture of ploughs and other agricultural implements employed one hundred and twenty-five persons. Two "paper manufactories" gave work to twenty-three men and twenty women; one tannery was staffed by seventy-five "hands," and there was a variety of small establishments: two bakeries, three saw mills, one tin ware manufactory, four blacksmith shops, four master builders, one clothing factory and one establishment for making soap. Domestic, home-centered industry had virtually disappeared.[86] Groton was more agricultural and less industrial

---

[84] George Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs*, New York, 1902, v. 1, p. 35.

[85] John P. Bigelow, Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Statistical Tables: Exhibiting the Condition and Products of Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts for the year ending April 1, 1837*, Boston, 1838, p. 28.

[86] The table indicates the extent of the growth of the town. The numbers in parentheses are average figures for all towns studied which, like Groton, established a high school by 1865.

Groton, 1840 and 1865

Variable	1840	1865	% change
Population	2139 (2023)	3176 (3059)	45 (51)
Total employed in manufacturing	113 (259)	281 (616)	148 (137)
Agricultural employees	799 (273)	300 (229)	-63 (-17)
Number foreign born		506 (498)	

than most towns which established high schools. Yet the change in the character of the town between 1840 and 1865 was relatively more marked. In fact change was felt especially strongly in Groton because manufacturing was concentrated in one part of the town, Groton Junction. Virtually uncultivated in 1830, the Junction became a thriving commercial and industrial center when it was made the place of meeting for a number of different railroad lines.

The town newspaper, the Groton Mercury, chronicled and welcomed the growth of Groton Junction. In December, 1851, the Mercury noted the erection of an agricultural tool factory and claimed, "The facilities for transportation at the Junction are probably better than at any other place in New England, the Railroads there diverging in all directions. We prophesy that sometimes, this celebrated Station . . . will be a considerable of a town . . . ."[87] Similarly, two years later the paper welcomed another agricultural works factory that was moving to the Junction from Rhode Island and bringing with it all its employees "(some 60 or 70)" and their families. The company was building "two large boarding houses" as temporary accommodation and erecting an "immense factory" and a "large Foundry." Others at the Junction were also prospering. A soap manufacturer had "lately put up a building for the manufacture of this article in all its varieties;" a number of homes and stores were slated for erection in the Spring, "and a site had been selected for a spacious Hotel." Within a few years Groton Junction was "destined. . . to be a large and flourishing town." The growth of the Junction, of course, would "diminish what little business there is now doing in the village." But, stressing the difference between the sections of the town, the editor wrote, "it will leave dear old Groton as ever, a most beautiful and desirable place of residence - none the less so, that the noise and bustle of business is far from it."[88] But the Mercury was not always so charitable to the "village." The "old fogies" who lived in the "village" but owned property in the Junction, it claimed, retarded the latter's growth by refusing to sell land to all the manufacturers who wanted to build factories.[89] The tensions between the sections of the town were reflected in the development of public education; eventually they became so severe that in 1871 Groton Junction severed its ties with the village and became the town of Ayer.

---

[87] Groton Mercury, December, 1851, p. 3.

In 1830 the school committee in a letter to the short lived Groton Herald complained of the low state of the town's schools. "So far as we have had the means of judging," they maintained, "we are convinced there has not been that improvement made in our schools generally for years past, which we think might reasonably be expected." The problem centered in the lack of care with which teachers were chosen. Sometimes they were allowed to begin teaching before being examined; sometimes they were not examined at all; and in examinations the standard was much too low. The town erred in insisting on cheap teachers and the schools suffered.[90] However, by 1842 the school committee was reasonably optimistic. Over the past year, they noted, there had been a general improvement in the schools, and the committee was particularly happy about the number of parents who had attended the closing exercises. Nevertheless, a few problems remained. A number of children had been overheard using profanity; some of the districts should be combined, and the wealthier children in the town were receiving some unfair advantages: they could attend academies, sunday schools and "social libraries." In spite of these difficulties the committee was rather pleased with the state of the town's school,[91] but six years later in 1848 the committee was once again complaining. They reported that the educational situation had deteriorated, and their report for that year commenced a mounting crescendo of criticism which would be abated but slightly over the next seventeen years.[92]

---

[88] Ibid., January 15, 1853, p. 2.

[89] Ibid., June 15, 1854, p. 2.

Better discipline among both students and teachers was absolutely urgent, for the manners and grammar of the latter were faulty. Better financing was also necessary, and the committee buttressed their appeal with the familiar contention that there was an inverse relation between education, pauperization and crime and a high positive correlation between education and the economic and political greatness of Massachusetts.[93] The heart of the 1848 report, however, was a lengthy demonstration of the superiority of public to private education. This argument was really the slightly veiled start of a decade-long harangue against the town's academy and its supporters.

---

[90] Groton Herald, March 27, 1830, p. 2. The Herald was published from 1828-30.

[91] Groton... 1841-42, 1842, passim.

[92] Ibid., 1847-48, pp. 11-14.

[93] Loc. cit.

Groton Academy was founded in 1792. In "the early part of the year," wrote Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, the town historian, "a voluntary association was formed . . . by certain people of the town and neighborhood, in order to establish an academy where a higher education could be obtained than was given at the district schools of that period." Subscriptions were collected and shares of stock in the academy sold. The association organized itself and chose trustees and other officers on April 27, 1792. The academy was maintained continuously thereafter.[94] But in the early 1840's financial difficulties made its continued existence uncertain. One of the trustees, Dr. Joshua Green, wrote Amos Lawrence, perhaps the most eminent alumnus of the academy, and told him of its difficulties, including a falling enrollment.[95] Lawrence responded with munificence. He and his brothers endowed the academy in 1846 with between eighteen and twenty thousand dollars and provided, consequently, enough financial security to enable expansion,[96] and the school was renamed Lawrence Academy. Between 1845 and 1850 the enrollment of the academy increased by more than one hundred students, and Groton children accounted for nearly a fifth of the increase. The coeducational academy offered both a classical and an English course, and this indicates that it prepared students for both college and business.[97] It is significant, therefore, that the first sustained attack on the academy by the town school committee occurred in 1848.

---

[94] Samuel A. Green, An Historical Sketch of Groton, Massachusetts, 1655-1890, Groton, 1894, pp. 91-93.

[95] Letters from Joshua Green to Amos Lawrence, April 19, 1841 and December 2, 1843, Lawrence Mss., Massachusetts Historical Society.

[96] Green, op. cit., pp. 91-93.

The proprietors of the academy emphasized the moral as well as the intellectual aspects of the education they provided. "The discipline of the school," they wrote in 1845, "commends itself to parents and guardians, securing the greatest intellectual progress in connection with a desirable moral influence . . . The settled policy of the Principal," they continued, was to "allow no incorrigibly idle or vicious pupil retained in school." "The constant object and desire of effort," claimed the catalogue, was "a pure and peaceful community."[98] In 1849 another passage was inserted in the catalogue which emphasized that the teachers and proprietors of the academy would keep a more than watchful eye on the morals of the children entrusted to their care. "None," they proclaimed, "are allowed to frequent the stores, or taverns, or other places, where they may become contaminated."[99] And in 1850 they added, "There is no attempt to secure popularity made at the expense either of thoroughness of instruction or strictness of discipline."[100] If one believed the official statements, no one would be able to accuse Lawrence Academy of immoral influence.

---

[97] Curriculum details are included in the various editions of the *Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors, and Students of Groton (later Lawrence) Academy*. These will hereafter be referred to as *Catalogue*.

[98] *Catalogue*, 1845, p. 9.

[99] *Ibid*., 1849, p. 20.

[100] *Ibid*., 1850, p. 16.

Nevertheless, the Mercury presented a slightly different picture when it reported the following conversation:

> 'Dick,' said a student of Lawrence Academy, the other day in the Post Office, 'Bill wishes you would write to him.'
> 'I'll see him damned first,' replied his mate.

Such language was not uncommon among academy students, claimed the paper.[101] The claims of the academy were countered by the Groton School Committee as well as the town newspaper. Public education, asserted the committee, was based on a philosophy of exposure rather than one of seclusion, and thus, they argued, was a better preparation for life. In public schools one did not see life "in an artificial state," and the carefully nurtured children of the rich would be thrown into a "world of children, surrounded by all classes. . . poor boys and rich - those of good - those of bad habits. . . . " In short, they would "see the world as it is." The wealthy children educated in public schools would have, in later years, the practical advantage of "being able to resist the temptations of life - while, perhaps, those whose education has been more carefully watched, discover themselves exposed to temptations, the existence of which they have been notified - alas! too late." Public education, however, offered advantages other than the inculcation of middle class virtue, for in a public school children learned the great American principles, especially the fact that "all men are created equal," and in public schools no notions of aristocracy could be fostered or tolerated.[102] The Groton school committee employed strong language, but, then, it had a formidable foe.

---

[101] Groton Mercury, January 1852, p. 2.

[102] Groton . . . 1847-48, 1848, p. 16.

In 1850 the committee noted with pleasure a growing parental interest in the schools but complained that the town was so parsimonious that school appropriations were low by comparison with other, similar towns. Tardiness, absenteeism and, in some cases, "insubordination" were hindering the work of the teachers.[103] These considerations, nevertheless, received relatively brief attention since the committee delivered its principal lecture for the year on the need for a high school. Unite a few districts and decrease the number of lower level schools, the Committee proposed, and a high school will involve no increase in taxation. The separation of the older from the younger children, they continued, would permit the more efficient instruction of both, and the desire for success in high school entrance examinations would stimulate the common schools to "increased exertion." A high school, perhaps most beneficially, would "break down the popular prejudice," the committee now openly proclaimed, that received "no little support from the existence of an academy . . . . It would be much better for the town if no such institution . . . existed." The committee reinforced this contention with a discussion of the relation between the high school and equality of opportunity and the importance of the latter for the preservation of democracy.[104]

A look at the Lawrence Academy catalogue for 1851 reveals the source of the school committee's anxiety and their choice of 1850 for a plea for a public high school. Referring to Groton, the catalogue claimed,

---

[103] Ibid., 1849-50, 1850, pp. 15-16.

[104] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

"the population is highly intelligent and refined, which end the common schools of the town have mainly contributed to effect." This was indeed unobjectionable, but the catalogue continued, "The youth of the place, obtaining the rudiments of a good education in our excellent public schools, pass into the academy, which occupies the relative place of a high school." The academy was consciously in competition with the desires of the school committee. The description of the academy, in fact, was much like that of a high school. In the academy, the catalogue explained, the students "are further instructed in such branches as fit them for various departments of business or professional life." The catalogue proudly and truly announced that "Youth from abroad also largely participate in these inestimable blessings."[105] Lawrence Academy must have been well known. In 1851, for example, its enrollment included seven students from New York, two from Missouri, two from Michigan, one from Maryland, one from Louisiana, two from Kentucky, one from Washington, D.C., and one from Canada. In 1852 the student body included five South American pupils, one Cuban, and, again, one Canadian. In 1853 a student from Spain was added, and rather startlingly one Leonida D. Rodocanachi from Smyrna, Asia Minor, made his appearance in the same year, followed in 1858 by a boy from India.[106] With such an institution as a competitor the fight for a high school would not be easy.

Throughout 1851 and 1852 tension mounted between the school committee and the town. Appropriations improved but poor discipline remained.

---

[105] Catalogue, 1851, p. 15.

[106] Lists of students were printed at the front of the catalogue each year.

However, the great issue of these years was the battle between the school committee and district fourteen. District fourteen had been troublesome before. In 1839 and 1840 the town and district argued over who was to pay for the moving of a school house to a new location. The town won. In 1847 the town meeting permitted a group of people to transfer a portion of the school money from district fourteen to district three, a move hardly calculated to improve relations between the town and district.[107] The struggles between district fourteen and the town represent the tensions between the old and the new parts of Groton. District fourteen was a commercial part of the town. Tables 1 and 2 list the occupations and property valuation of the fathers of children at school in district fourteen in 1852, the first year in which registers could be obtained. The statistics themselves are from the 1850 manuscript census:

Table 1. Occupation of Parents of Children at School in Groton, District Fourteen, 1852

	N.	%
Professional	0	0
Business	2	8.3
Artisan	15	62.5
Laborer	3	12.5
Farmer	1	4.2
None listed (no father)	3	12.5

Note: The two fathers listed under business were an innholder and a teamster.

---

[107] Groton Town Records, 1839 and 1840, pp. 77, 90 and 92; 1847, p.221. The town records are on file in the town clerk's office.

Table 2. Distribution of Value of Real Estate among Parents of Children at School in Groton, District Fourteen, 1852

	N	%
$0-999	15	62.5
$1,000-4,999	9	37.7
$5,000 or more	0	0

Tables represent 31 out of 49 children attending, or 63.3%, and 24 out of an estimated 37 families, or 64.9%. Occupations and valuation figures from the manuscript census for 1850.

The tables imply that district fourteen was non-agricultural, commercial and peopled largely by artisans of little wealth. This conclusion is reinforced by the probable location of district fourteen. The only map with school district boundaries that could be located was drawn in 1830. On this map there were only thirteen districts. But districts twelve and thirteen were near the side of the town that eventually became Groton Junction. In fact, the one large chunk of unpopulated land was the portion of the town that within a decade became the Junction, and this makes it reasonable to suppose that the next district created, district fourteen, was located in the newly developing section of the town.[108]

The controversy in the 1850-51 school year happened when district fourteen took it upon itself to hire a teacher without consulting the town school committee. The Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts unambiguously stated that teachers first selected by the prudential committee in charge of a district had to be approved by the town school committee. "In direct and palpable violation of these plain enactments, the gentleman acting as a prudential committee for District Number 14, employed a person and put her in charge of one of its schools, without the knowledge or approval of the superintending committee." When the school committee learned of this act, they assumed the prudential committeeman intended to establish a private school, but they "learned from his own lips that he had established it as a public school, and that its expenses would be defrayed by public money." In the "most friendly manner" the town committee informed him of the illegality of his actions and urged him to discontinue the school.. He refused, and the town informed him that they would themselves establish a public school. The committee also sent "a respectful note to the person whom he had employed as an instructor, desiring her to relinquish her charge without delay, but it was treated with silent contempt." Therefore, the town committee hired a teacher and prepared to open a school in the district.[109]

---

[108] Town Plan Book #12, Town Plan Map of Groton, 1830, p. 17. The town plan books are on microfilm in the Massachusetts State Archives.

But the prudential committeeman did not accept defeat. "The key of the door opening into the school-room was withheld," and another "school was opened in close proximity to the school-house, purporting to be a free school, and the same person who had illegally assumed to instruct the public school officiated as the teacher." In fact "vigorous efforts were made to draw away the children from the public school and prejudice the minds of parents against it." These efforts were reinforced by "anonymous letters" of "an insulting and overbearing character" threatening legal action sent to the legitimate teacher. But the teacher carried on and "accomplished as great an amount of good as could reasonably be expected under such circumstances."[110] The town committee's difficulty was compounded by the town treasurer who refused to pay the teacher they had appointed in spite of the fact that "she was justly and legally entitled" to her salary. Consequently, the town committee's teacher started prosecution against the town, and the town was faced with an expensive, clearly losing legal battle. The school committee in no uncertain terms censured the treasurer, doubting that he possessed the authority "to determine what number of duly qualified teachers ought to be compensated for their services, and what number ought not to be . . . ."[111]

---

[109] Groton. . . 1851-52, 1852, pp. 7-8.

During the winter term the situation in district fourteen did not improve. The town school committee assumed the job of the prudential committee since the person supposed to act in the latter capacity "gave . . . no intimation that he regarded himself as sustaining any official relation whatever, to the District." The town hired two "competent instructors," and one committeeman called on Mr. Shattuck, the prudential committeeman, to obtain the keys to the school and the wood-house. But Mr. Shattuck refused to hand over the keys, and the town committee had to "force the locks in order to gain admittance." This was done and the school made ready. "But on arriving at the school-house on Monday morning with our teachers, we found the doors locked against us, and a company of men around the door of the wood-house, for the purpose, apparently of preventing us by force, from entering that building." Rather than use force the town committee obtained fuel temporarily from another source.

---

[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

"Ultimately, however," they "were compelled to use force in entering the wood-house, that the District might avail itself of the wood which had been provided for its use." Still "repeated assaults were made on the wood-house by fastening the door, until the District called a meeting, and appointed a committee to prevent if possible a repetition of similar acts." The overt hostile acts ended, but Mr. Shattuck sent the town committee's instructors letters "implicitly forbidding them to enter the school-house, if they would avoid the penalties threatened by law for housebreaking." The instructors ignored the letters and carried on as best they could.[112]

The school committee claimed it had had "no private ends to answer nor private piques to gratify. Contention and strife are not congenial to our taste," and they proffered to their antagonists "the hand of kindness and affection."[113] But in spite of the proffered hand strains remained between district fourteen and the town. For instance, in 1853 the town meeting appointed a committee to determine why District Fourteen had received more money than had been voted it. The report of the committee the next year was accepted and put on file.[114] To the town committee the earlier struggle with district fourteen had been of importance because the success of the district would set a precedent whose consequences would destroy public education. If prudential committees could "employ instructors, and place them in charge of our public schools without their being examined and approved by the superintending committee, then the best system of public instruction existing in our country will be prostrated in the dust."[115] In spite of its humorous qualities, the struggle between district fourteen and the town was significant. It illustrated, first, the tensions between the newly developing industrial and the old agricultural section of the town. Second, it revealed the magnitude of the resistance to be countered in establishing a town high school, which would eventually eliminate the power and autonomy of the districts.

---

[112] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[113] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[114] Groton Town Records, 1853, p. 374 and 1854, p. 407.

Surely, however, prudential committeeman Shattuck must have known that the town committee would oppose his flagrant flouting of state law, and hence he must have desired to make a deliberate test of the committee's strength. His reasons can more easily be understood after a consideration of the movement to establish a high school.

The politics of high school establishment were extremely complicated in Groton. Between 1851 and 1859 town meetings passed and tabled a number of contradictory motions regarding a high school. In 1851 the meeting "passed over" a motion to establish a high school[116]; in 1854 it accepted a committee's report that it was not expedient to establish a high school at present[117]; later the same year it referred another motion to establish a high school to a different committee and the next year accepted and printed its favorable report.[118] Backed by the report of the committee, the town voted to appoint another committee to select a site for the high school but not to spend any money before gaining the approval of the town at its next meeting.[119] But the encouragement was short lived: in 1855 two motions were indefinitely postponed: to send all children to Lawrence Academy and pay the tuition of the poor and, second, to establish schools equivalent to high schools in the districts.[120] In November the town voted to postpone any further consideration of a high school for one year but early in 1857 it voted to reconsider that motion and appointed a committee to begin establishing a high school.[121] Shortly after appointing the committee to go ahead with the high school another town meeting indefinitely postponed all motions regarding a high school, and at its next meeting the town voted to postpone the proposed high school at Groton Center for one year.[122] Finally, in 1859 the town voted to begin a high school in a brick building to be built as a combination school and town hall.[123] Finally, too, the high school supporters managed to defeat a reconsideration vote.[124]

---

[115] Groton School Report, op. cit., p. 12.

[116] Groton Town Records, 1851, p. 526.

[117] Ibid., 1854, p. 407.

[118] Ibid., 1854, pp. 421 and 429.

High school supporters were led by the school committee which kept up its appeals throughout the years of changing votes. To the school committee the villain holding up educational progress in Groton was, aside from District Fourteen, Lawrence Academy. In 1854 the school committee report featured another withering blast at the academy which, they maintained, divided "the interest of parents," and withdrew "many of the advanced pupils from the common schools." The influence of the academy was, therefore, "prejudicial" to the interests of the public school system and, by implication, to the establishment of a high school.[125] The 1855 report also included a lengthy harangue aimed at the academy. This denunciation ended, interestingly, with a revelation of the allegedly egalitarian sentiments of the committee. "Once," the report contended, "a collegiate education was almost essential to social distinction in Massachusetts." Happily that time had passed and now "the highest honors" were open to graduates of the common school. "The trader, the farmer, the mechanic at present crowd our halls of legislation," the committee noted with satisfaction, perhaps thinking of their ex-member, now Governor, George Boutwell, and soon the day would arrive when "the day-laborer, so-called, will put in his reasonable claim for greater consideration." The report claimed with ill-concealed pleasure that "professional men. . . must not unfrequently stand back. Men of deeds rather than professions will often take precedence of them."[126] The sheltered and privileged students at the academy were thus served notice and, if they knew their own best interest, would quickly transfer to a common school.

---

[119] Ibid., 1854, p. 431.

[120] Ibid., 1855, p. 433.

[121] Ibid., 1857, p. 456.

[122] Ibid., 1857, p. 1.

[123] Ibid., 1859, p. 73.

[124] Ibid., 1859, p. 85.

---

[125] *Groton . . . 1853-54*, 1854, p. 8.

[126] *Ibid*., 1854-55, 1855, pp. 10-11.

The school committee was, indeed, trying to find a way of striking effectively at the academy. A passage added to the academy catalogue in 1855 indicates some of the bases of competition between the two. The academy described the comprehensiveness and quality of its education in terms that made a high school seem superfluous.

> The Classical Department includes the studies required for admission to college, and instruction in French, Spanish, and other modern languages. The English Department comprehends, in its two courses of study, the common branches taught in the elementary schools, and all the higher branches of a complete English education. In this department special pains will be taken to prepare teachers of common schools for their work, and to furnish young men with what they need in business and commercial pursuits.[127]

The 1855 school committee report also contained a discussion of the relation of education to economic development, for the committee believed that settlers of the "best character" would be attracted to a town largely by its schools. If Groton wanted to grow in wealth and population, the implication was clear.[128] A third major argument in the 1855 report was the necessity of indoctrinating the young with Christian morality.[129] This point was also the subject for a lengthy lecture in 1857, because by that date the Groton school committee, undoubtedly shocked by the transformation of Groton Junction, had become thoroughly alarmed at the social alterations they saw rapidly transforming their town and state. Through their eyes Massachusetts was rather like the Wild West. Men were relying "upon the knife and the revolver rather than upon law, for their personal safety. Lawlessness" was "rife everywhere." The effects of social chaos on the schools were compounded by the fact that "family government" was "more and more declining." If the family failed to enforce rules within the home and to cooperate with the school, the latter would be left helpless. A moral renaissance was required to avoid the destruction of society and the dissolution of a civilized community.[130] Unfortunately, the committee noted in their next report, parental cooperation had not increased, and when a community "feels more interest in the training of their colts than their children," the committee noted sadly, "the character of their schools may be easily inferred." To the committee the failure of the family was not, then, the sole responsibility of the poor Irish.

---

[127] *Catalogue*, 1855, p. 15.

[128] *Groton School Report*, *op*. *cit*., p. 12.

[129] *Ibid*., p. 10.

In 1859, the year in which the high school proponents were finally permanently victorious, the committee renewed their case for public secondary education. The committee admitted the difficulties created by a widely scattered population, but they felt that a high school was, nevertheless, feasible. The report repeated the former contention that the high school combined with consolidation was an economic innovation and that the high school would democratically spread to all the advantages presently available to the wealthy. The committee countered in advance a possible rebuttal which might assert that "jealousies between different districts. . . will interfere with such arrangements." If this were true, "the sooner they are done away with the better." The school committee, representing the parental state, would engineer social harmony in the most efficient way: namely, by bringing "the scholars of the different districts as much as possible together."[131]

---

[130] Ibid., 1857-58, 1858, p. 5.

The thesis that district jealousies were hampering the creation of the high school was supported by the Mercury. An early supporter of a high school, the Mercury, based an 1854 argument on the need for intelligent citizens and the difficulty of paying both tuition at the academy and school taxes.[132] After the initial vote in favor of the high school in 1857 the Mercury tried to convince townspeople not to reconsider the motion. As in other battles within the town the opposition was coming from Groton Junction. People from the Juntion "with some others in remote parts of the town, have caused a warrant to be posted for another meeting. . . to see if the town will not reconsider the vote." The reconsideration move stemmed from the fact that, "Some of the people of this village cherish a bitter feeling towards everybody in town" and were consequently objecting to what the newspaper claimed was a very small tax.[133] A large part of the objection, unsaid by the Mercury, was probably the fact that the high school was to be built in Groton Center, a far distance from Groton Junction which was becoming the center of the industrial and commercial activity and population of the town. In other towns reports implied and stated that outlying districts opposed high schools because children could not reach them. Groton was peculiar in that its outlying district was populous and dense enough to sponsor a cohesive and, for eight years, successful movement against the Center.

---

[131] Ibid., 1858-59, 1859, p. 5.

[132] Groton Mercury, July 20, 1855, p. 2.

[133] Ibid., January 15, 1857, p. 2.

Groton Junction resisted both a high school and, as the description of the controversy concerning district fourteen has shown, control by the town committee over the hiring of teachers. The battle of district fourteen, in fact, occurred in the year of a serious plea by the town school committee for the establishment of a high school. Both the opposition to the high school and to the town supervision of district hiring practices, this coincidence of date implies, were part of the resistance of the district to a loss of autonomy. Probably the resistance sprang from Junction residents' resentment of the older section of the town. After all, as the quotation cited earlier from the Mercury indicates, the reluctance of the old residents to sell land to Junction manufacturers retarded the growth of that part of the town, and second, the populous and prosperous Junction was undoubtedly supplying a disproportionate share of town taxes. Residents probably felt that their contribution to the town treasury coupled with their economic distinctiveness entitled them to both an increased share in the management of their own affairs and a chance to benefit equally from any new town educational facilities.

Yet the alignment of forces in the district-town fight was odd. Surely, the rhetoric of educational reform and the correlates of high school establishment suggest that it should have been the industrial, urban Junction, not the agricultural Village, that urged the commencement of a public secondary school. The town committee did use arguments stressing the relation between the high school and economic growth, but perhaps these were contentions thrown out to convert the stubborn residents of the Junction. At stake really was the control of the town. If the Junction could flaunt the school committee and prevent the centralization of power represented by a high school in the Village, too far away for them to use, then they would effectively control their own educational system. And this might be only the harbinger of future issues. This assumption of power by the district, this loss of accustomed control over the town, is probably what the Village and school committee struggled so energetically to prevent. If this hypothesis is valid, the Battle of District Fourteen and part of the struggle for a high school represented a major power struggle within the community.

To point out the elements of a power struggle in the district-town controversies is to raise a major question concerning the use of ideology by the committee. They phrased their goals not in terms of power but in terms of the accepted and respectable ideology, even though in this case it bore little relation to their own economic interests. Ideology was a kind of cloak with which they could cover their less idealistic motives, an unanswerable set of arguments to hurl at their opponents, who, in turn, had nothing with which to reply. Ideology became the rationalization of interest; and it served well, for the committee won.

The extent to which ideology masked a power struggle really little concerned with educational issues is revealed by the early history of the town of Ayer. When Groton Junction became Ayer in 1871, the new town started its school system with no districts and with a high school.

In fact, in their first report the Ayer school committee listed improvement of the high school as their first priority.[134]

The Mercury agreed with the school committee that district jealousy was hampering the establishment of a high school. Yet it rejected the argument that the Academy was a hindrance. "The story concocted that those interested in the Academy are averse to the High School is all moonshine," wrote the editor. "So far from it," he continued, "they encouraged it - voted for it, and one of its benefactors, Mr. A. A. Lawrence, wrote a letter advising the Groton people to push ahead and establish it."[135]

Still, the presence of an academy offering an equivalent education was a major hurdle to high school promotees. In fact like most of the other school committee appeals for a high school, the 1859 plea occurred in the same year that the academy posed a new challenge to public education. The catalogue for that year contained an announcement which implied some exaggeration in the school committee's assertion that the benefits of the academy were open only to the wealthy. In an announcement entitled, "Aid to young men fitting for college," the catalogue declared:

> Provision is made by funds of the Academy, given for this purpose, to aid those who need assistance in obtaining a liberal education. Those who receive the benefit have their tuition remitted for the first term of their preparatory studies. Afterwards, they receive a sum not exceeding one dollar per week, including their tuition. The conditions are, good moral character, talents, and scholarship, and

---

[134] Ayer, ... 1871-2, 1872, pp. 8-9.

[135] Loc. cit.

> the *avowed purpose to obtain* a liberal education. No preference is given to any one of the learned professions; and by the will of the donor, the late William Lawrence, no discrimination is made in favor of any denomination.[136]

Thus, the Groton boy whose parents could not afford the thirty-five to forty-five cents a week tuition could still be prepared for college.

Groton High School, which opened on March 11, 1860, surrendered in one respect before the academy. It offered only an "English" or non-collegiate course,[137] and the school committee diatribes against the academy ended. The academy, however, did not give up its English curriculum and, therefore, still competed with the high school.

3. The Working Class Against Reform

In Groton the struggle for a high school masked a struggle for control of the town. Much of the rhetoric of the anti-academy and anti-district fight throughout the state probably covered the same reasons. In Groton as in Beverly the fight for a high school reflected a deep communal division. Only in Groton the primary battle was not between social classes but between sections of the town. Nevertheless, even in Groton the essential nature of educational reform and innovation as an imposition by one group upon another, an imposition only partly prompted by altruistic and humanitarian concerns: this once more becomes clear.

Except for the people of Groton Junction it is not yet clear why reform and innovation had to be impositions. There is evidence that citizens seemed reluctant to take the largess offered them by reformers and of a lack of comprehension of the alleged advantages of education, but we still cannot account for the phenomena that we can identify. To make the nature of opposition clearer it is necessary to return to Beverly. The least affluent citizens of Beverly recorded their opposition to the high school in votes, not in words. No record of their reasons for opposing the persuasive rhetoric of promoters exists. Yet good reasons for opposition can be inferred from a consideration of their social and economic situation.

---

[136] *Catalogue, 1859*, p. 16.

[137] *Groton . . . 1861-62*, 1862, pp. 6-9.

The abolition of Beverly high school occurred amidst probably the greatest social crisis in the history of the town. In the same week that they voted four to one to abolish the high school, the shoemakers of Beverly, the dominant occupational group in the town, went on strike, and so did thousands of other shoemakers in Essex County. Indeed, the walkout by shoemakers in 1860 was the largest strike in the United States before the Civil War.[138]

Beverly had been a small and homogeneous community until the advent of the railroad in 1840. From the 1840's through the mid-1850's a number of manufacturing enterprises started in the town. The industries were of various types, and it seemed as though Beverly would turn into a small but diversified manufacturing center. However, during the depression of 1857 many of the new, small industries with little capital failed, never to be started again. Indeed, equally good harbors and better facilities for manufacturing, such as water power for mills, existed elsewhere in Massachusetts. Only for the shoe industry did Beverly provide an attractive outlet for capital. For Beverly had more of skilled shoemakers than anyone else, and shoemaking was a major industry throughout Essex County, especially in nearby Lynn.[139]

---

[138] George Rogers Taylor, The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860, New York, 1951, pp. 284-285.

As Beverly developed into a one industry town, it experienced the grave social consequences that accompanied the transformation of shoemaking. It was in the 1850's and 60's that shoemaking became mechanized. Factory production replaced the skilled craftsman. Technological change, in fact, hit shoemakers with the impact of modern day automation. The number of shoes manufactured per shoemaker rose rapidly. Indeed, machine manufacture increased the output of shoes beyond the demands of the market; and as apprenticeship ceased to be necessary, manufacturers hired unskilled, untrained workers who swelled the ranks of shoemakers to overflowing. Overproduction and a plethora of workmen produced a crisis in the industry, and the price of shoes declined drastically. In this situation, manufacturers introduced a sizeable pay cut, and the shoemakers struck.[140]

---

[139] See Appendix D for economic and social statistics of Beverly.

[140] J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, Philadelphia, 1866, v.2, pp. 509-510; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860*, Washington, 1916, p. 444; Blanche Hazard, *The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875*, Cambridge, 1929, *passim.*; and *Lynn Reporter*, March 31, 1860, p.3 and March 10, 1860, p.3: "There are too many shoemakers, and millions of cheap, miserable things have been manufactured, through the aid of machinery, and the employment of a vast number who are novices in the art."

The shoemakers of Beverly left no written records, and the timid town newspaper tried to pretend that the strike did not exist. To find the attitude of the strikers one must turn to Lynn newspapers. In both places shoemaking dominated the economy, and it is reasonable to assume that within the same county technological developments were closely paralleled from town to town. Moreover, within the area which serviced the Boston market prices would be similar. Thus, one can assume that the attitude of the Lynn shoemakers was shared by the hundreds of their colleagues who struck in Beverly, and it is the attitude of the strikers that is important, for this reveals the social gulf that widened with industrialization and contributed to the abolition of Beverly high school.[141]

Articles in pro-strike papers stressed other than strictly economic grievances. One writer proclaimed to the mechanics of Lynn that "those occupying a position in society different from yours. . . have wantonly and ill-advisedly insulted all that is manly in your breasts. . . ,"[142] and in a very real sense the strike was about manliness, about the preservation of honor.

Another writer delineated the grievances of the strikers. The tensions and opinions engendered by the strike, he claimed, were "the unerring indications of a social wrong, felt to be such by the whole community, yet so interwoven with our social condition that its reform has become the most perplexing problem of the age." The "wrong" was the existence of an increase in both the inequality of the distribution of wealth and the loss of independence by the artisans. "Great fortunes," were being concentrated "under the control of a few manufacturers" in Lynn, while "hundreds of workmen" were "gradually crowded from the independent positions they formerly occupied." Shoemakers, noted the writer, were "men of more or less means"; in fact, as a group they probably owned more property than the manufacturers; clearly this was no strike of a proletariat. But shoemakers were being compelled to relinquish "the luxuries, next the conveniences, and finally the necessaries of life."[143]

---

[141] I followed the course of the strike in two newspapers, the pro-strike Lynn Bay State and the anti-strike Lynn Reporter. The former was Democratic, the latter Republican.

[142] Bay State, March 15, 1860, p. 2.

From the deterioration in their position stemmed two consequences: while the country became richer, the shoemakers became poorer, and, second, they were progressively unable to take advantage of the new educational and communal facilities being introduced. "We have better streets, better schools, and more wholesome sanitary regulations," claimed the writer, "but we do not get an education commensurate with the increase of our facilities." Indeed, children were being "removed from school two or three years too early," and an alarming "number of young men and women" were sinking "into early graves." Why? The writer rejected the thesis that shoemakers removed children from school through cupidity. Indeed, for one parent, he proclaimed, who took a boy of thirteen from school for selfish reasons, there were a hundred who did so from necessity. "The parent finds the expenses of his household constantly increasing, while the wages of his labor are steadily diminishing," and he had no choice but to submit to that which he considered a wrong to his family. But in the wonderful, inventive nineteenth century, "To say that such a thing is either right or necessary, is a libel upon the age." The promise of industrialization was being betrayed; "the benefits resulting from a proper division of labor and the application of machinery were "monopolized by the few, instead of being diffused in just proportions." The author stressed, in his conclusion, not the drop in wages, but the tendency "plainly to break down the independence of the laborer, and to abridge the various sources of his social enjoyment."[144]

---

[143] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1860, p. 2.

The protest of the shoemakers was an agonized remonstrance against the loss of personal and financial independence, and, indeed, of a whole way of life. One old shoemaker, according to the editor of the pro-strike paper, perfectly summed up the issue of the strike in a single phrase: "Once it was honorable to labor, now it is a disgrace."[145] The great Essex County shoe strike was a last protest against the modern world of the machine and factory.

Thus the shoemakers who voted against Beverly high school had quite a different orientation from the Rantouls and Boydens. For the core of opposition to Beverly high school the future was not promising. The shoemakers were the propertied, once moderately comfortable and independent group whose life was being altered by technological development. For the shoemaker the past, certainly, was better than the ominous future. And it was an urban-industrial future, precisely, the the high school was alleged to promote. In Beverly Rufus Putnam, among others, had spread the doctrine, prevalent also throughout the state, that the high school would promote economic development. If this were true, if the shoemaker accepted the logic of the educational promoter, then the last institution he would want to establish would be a public high school. Moreover, to property owners whose incomes had been reduced, as many shoemakers were, anything which would raise taxes would hardly be appealing.

---

[144] Ibid., March 15, 1860, p. 1.

[145] Ibid., March 8, 1860, p. 2.

Besides, to what avail was the democratic argument advanced by Boyden? The high school might be there, but, as the shoemaker in Lynn pointed out, modern economic conditions were so hard that children were forced to begin work precisely at the age when the benefits from a high school should commence. Farmers, too, probably would be moved by some of these arguments. For them the advance of industrial society offered little but a lure to their children. As Rantoul observed, more and more boys were leaving the parental farm for the city. The decided weighting of high school opponents' property towards real estate rather than personal estate symbolized their roots in a community being torn apart by the forces backed by the supporters. The high school issue brought into focus the different orientations towards social development within a nineteenth century New England town.

At the time of the high school vote the shoemakers in particular were hostile to the representatives of the manufacturing and commercial interests, who had lowered wages. Yet the tradition of machine breaking and direct physical assault, prominent in other countries, did not spread to America in this period. In voting to abolish the high school, a favorite innovation of their antagonists, the shoemakers had an opportunity to vent their anger in a perfectly legal way. The shoemakers, it has been argued, and most likely other groups of little wealth too, were hardly enthusiastic about the social and economic alteration taking place around them. But industrialism is a diffuse antagonist; it is hard to assault directly. Here, again, the high school, explicitly billed as the harbinger of manufacturing and urban growth, was a convenient source for attack.[146]

Why, then, did Beverly citizens vote to abolish the town high school? Their lack of written records makes it impossible to offer more than a hypothesis. But from the evidence three reasons can be inferred. First, the vote was a protest against the raising of taxes, especially by people without children. Second, the least affluent citizens felt that the high school would not benefit their children. Third, the vote represented hostility to both the wealthy leaders of the town and to the onset of industrialism.

---

[146] Insofar as the strike was a protest against replacement of a craft skill by machinery there is a similarity to Luddism. Yet, unlike the Luddites the American shoemakers protested peacefully. Even hostile accounts did not report the wrecking of machinery or deliberate physical assaults. On Luddism see George Rude, *The Crowd in History, 1730-1848*, New York, 1964, pp. 79-82. On p. 226, Rude notes the particular hostility of the pre-industrial crowd to "capitalist innovation." Luddism and the attitudes of the working class during the period of the first industrialization in England are portrayed sensitively in E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (American Edition) New York, 1964. A comparable study for the United States would be a major contribution. The interpretation stressing "displaced aggression" is supported by psychological theory of various schools. See Calvin S. Hall and Gardiner Lindzey, *Theories of Personality*, New York, 1957, pp. 47-49 and 449-453.

In their exhortations to citizens to vote for a high school, educational promoters in Beverly used arguments based on mobility and economic growth. Apparently, the promoters early had the wealthy and prominent on their side, and they must, therefore, have been appealing to the moderately and least prosperous voters. What they failed to see was that their own values were not shared by the rest of the community. That is, the promoters who stressed mobility and wealth as products of education appealed to exactly the wrong values in terms of an outlook skeptical of progress. A strike was some evidence of social division. More subtle, but more devastating, was the community leaders' failure to perceive the weakness in their own rhetoric. The probable assumption of the promoters that the rest of the town docilely would follow their advice was rudely challenged. Dr. Boyden was an investor in shoe manufacturing and Rantoul, too, derived much of his income from commerce and manufacturing. In the same week the shoemakers of Beverly staged a dual revolt against these communal leaders. They struck, literally, at the source of their income, and they rejected their pet educational innovation. Truly, the events of the first week in March, 1860, testify to the depth of social division in a nineteenth century community.

The underlying cause of both the establishment and abolition of Beverly high school was the shifting economic base of both the town and the state. It was to keep pace with these changes that promoters urged an extended educational system; it was to assure opportunity for the individual within an altered economy that the high school was argued; it was to re-unite a splintering community that a high school was necessary. The unravelling of the social fabric that accompanied the growth of a manufacturing economy heightened the distance between the members of the community; it produced the decaying economic position of craftsmen and became the source of the antagonism which erupted during the first week of March, 1860, in the great shoe strike and the abolition of Beverly high school.

How typical was the Beverly experience? From it can we generalize about educational controversy throughout the state of Massachusetts? The geographic location of Beverly on the coast and its dependence upon one industry are factors that make it somewhat distinctive. Nevertheless, the underlying causes of communal dissension, the impact of the introduction of manufacturing upon society, occurred throughout the state, often with more swiftness than in Beverly. Attitudes toward social change, moreover, were shared by educational reformers throughout the state. Everywhere the high school was urged for the same reasons. The problems raised by industrialism, too, were similar. Not only the large body of shoemakers but the hand-loom weavers and other craftsmen were affected adversely by the coming of the factory and machine. The tensions that erupted in Beverly were inherent throughout most of the towns in the Commonwealth. Because of a conjunction of circumstances they became particularly visible in Beverly in March, 1860. The events of March, 1860, in Beverly formed one of those moments that illuminate for the historian widespread smoldering controversies. The nature of the controversy in Beverly, moreover, suggests that the identification of antagonists by older historians was essentially correct. In spite of the predictable and continuing parsimony of childless taxpayers and the mixed reaction of certain middling social groups, two distinct clusters of antagonists emerge, prominent, prestigous leaders and a working class. Only the attitudes of the antagonists defined by older historians must be reversed; for the Beverly experience suggests that one dynamic of educational controversy was the attempt of social leaders to impose innovation upon a reluctant working class.

The high schools forced upon reluctant towns met, predictably, many problems. During the first few years after the founding of a high school committees reported euphorically on the achievements on the new institution,[147] but after a time difficulties usually arose. By itself, separation from younger children failed to make the older ones more obedient, and discipline was frequently a serious problem within the high school.[148] Attendance and tardiness were two issues related to the problem of discipline. Irregular attendance and truancy, indeed, were the most persistent and common complaints of school committees, and, in some towns, the worst offenders were high school students.[149]

---

[147] See, *e.g.*, *Fairhaven, 1858-59*, 1859, p. 3 and *Lincoln, 1853-54*, p.4.

[148] See, *e.g.*, *Webster, 1859-60*, 1860, pp. 4-5.

[149] See, *e.g.*, *Fairhaven, 1860-61*, 1861, pp. 9-10.

School committees were virtually obsessed with the problems of punctual and regular attendance.[150] It is not unreasonable to assume that these concerns were based on real problems. However, the concern with time and reliability implies that schools were to serve the new society in part by producing those habits particularly needed in the work force. A writer in the *Massachusetts Teacher* asserted:

> That the habit of prompt action in the performance of the duty required of the boy, by the teacher at school, becomes in the man of business confirmed; thus system and order characterize the employment of the day laborer. He must begin each half day with as much promptness as he drops his tools at the close of it; and he must meet every appointment and order during the hours of the day with no less precision. It is in this way that regularity and economy of time have become characteristic of our community, as appears in the running 'on time' of long trains on our great network of railways; the strict regulations of all large manufacturing establishments; as well as the daily arrangements of our school duties. . . . Thus, what has been instilled in the mind of the pupil, as a principle, becomes thoroughly recognized by the man as of the first importance in the transaction of business. . . .[151]

Indeed, the transformation of agrarian habits in which precision and promptness are less emphasized into the traits necessary to conduct city life and large scale manufacturing is a problem characteristic of urbanizing and industrializing societies.[152] Without regular and prompt attention the factory no more than the school can function adequately. By disciplining the habits of future workers the school would serve to induct children into the requirements of the emerging economic order.

---

[150] See, *e.g.*, *Watertown, 1861-62*, 1862, p.9.

[151] *Massachusetts Teacher*, xiv, 9, September, 1861, p. 329.

[152] See Oscar Handlin, "The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study," in Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds., *The Historian and the City*, Cambridge 1963, pp. 14-15:

> The complex interrelationships of life in the modern city. . . called for unprecedented precision. The arrival of all those integers who worked together, from whatever part of the city they inhabited, had to be coordinated to the moment. There was no natural span for such labor; arbitrary beginnings and ends had to be set, made uniform and adhered to. The dictatorship of the clock and the schedule became absolute.

(continued)

Some school committees also had a problem rather different from irregular attendance. Many parents applied steady pressure to the committees to lower the entrance requirements for high schools, and the very standards of the new schools were threatened.[153] Parents mobilized personal influence and pressure against the committees; in sociological terms they were emphasizing ascribed rather than achieved qualities, and it was precisely this emphasis that schoolmen were trying to cast out from the educational system. Likewise, complaints about the unfair advantages offered children of the wealthy by academies and complaints about

---

[152] (continued)

> No earlier human experience had made such demands. . . The urban factory was conceivable only well into the nineteenth century when it was possible to imagine that a labor force would come to work regularly and dependably.

Writing of the clock as "Thoreau's model of the capitalist economy," Leo Marx (*The Machine in the Garden, Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, New York, 1964, p. 248) notes:

> Thoreau's response to the mechanization of time reflects the heightened significance of the clock in the period of the "take-off" into full scale industrialism. With the building of factories and railroads it became necessary, as never before, to provide the population with access to the exact time. This was made possible, in New England, by the transformation of the clockmaking industry. Before 1800 clocks had been relatively expensive luxury items made only by master craftsmen. Significantly enough, the industry was among the first to use machines and the principle of interchangeable part manufacture. By 1807, in Connecticut, Eli Terry had begun to produce wooden clocks in large numbers, and before he died in 1852 he was making between 10,000 and 12,000 clocks a year at $5.00 each.

[153] See, *e.g.*, *Fairhaven, 1864-65*, 1865, p.5.

the hiring of unqualified friends and relatives as teachers: both were protests against rewards based on ascription rather than achievement. The ideal school system was graded, promotions were equally open to all solely on the basis of merit, teachers were hired for their professional qualifications; this ideal school system reflected a belief that status based on achievement should pervade society. In a rural, agricultural society labor is divided within the family, for the most part jobs require little special skill and formal training, responsibility is based largely on age, the social hierarchy rests mainly on custom, and few pressures force an alteration of traditional attitudes; in such a society, that is, ascription forms a relatively powerful criterion for the assignment of status. Industrialization, on the other hand, dissolves the traditional social fabric, many tasks become highly specialized and technical competence becomes of paramount importance. To adequately cope with its business an industrial, urban society must award relative priority to achieved over ascribed qualities. Thus, although achievement is a fundamental criterion for reward in democratic ideology, its stress in this period is particularly significant. The transition of the state from an agricultural-commercial to an industrial economy required a corresponding shift in the basis of social valuation. By trying to institutionalize achieved status through public education and to indoctrinate parents with its virtues schoolmen again were facilitating economic change through the transformation of social attitudes.[154]

In the mid '60's school committees were still complaining of a parental apathy that resisted the efforts and achievements of educational reformers. The Groton school committee, for one, virtually confessed failure. Public interest in education had not increased, and how the schools could be maintained without this enthusiasm and support was a question whose answer was, to say the least, uncertain.[155] One of the problems inherent in reform was the confused nature of the ideology. Reform would promote urban industrial society, which was a fine thing, only urban industrial society was bad, and education should radiate a centripetal force to reunite the shattered fragments of towns and re-create the social atmosphere of the rural village. If the two sides of the ideology were not logically incompatible, they nevertheless formed a set of highly implausible goals. Still, reformers might have argued that it was the obstacles within old towns that had frustrated their efforts. If only they could have a chance to build a system from scratch, then they might produce a small city on a hill. Indeed, the chance to make a school system in a new town would provide a test case for the viability of reform theory. In Lawrence reformers were given their chance.

---

[154] David McClelland started an extensive cross-cultural examination of children's readers with the hypothesis that achieved status would be more prominent in rapidly developing countries. This notion, he states, is agreed upon by all sociological theorists. However, his findings do not confirm the hypothesis. Nevertheless, there is an hypothesis that he does not investigate. McClelland, that is, considers countries in 1925 and 1950. Lumped together and not partialled out are countries at very different *stages* of economic development. What he does not consider, and what this study suggests, is that a stress on achieved status may be a characteristic of societies *in the process* of transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The process of industrialization itself, bringing with it major changes in all the relationships of men, may necessitate a shift in social attitudes during the period that Rostow calls the "take off." Later, as industrialism becomes firmly established and self-perpetuating, as re-orientation of the population becomes no longer necessary, new bases of status may emerge, new distinctions become hardened, and the stress on achievement less emphasized. (David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, New York, 1961, pp. 183-186).

[155] *Groton ... 1864-65*, 1865, p. 13.

3

Epilogue: Lawrence, From "Model Town" to "Primary School of Vice"

The early history of Lawrence is the story of the fading of an utopian vision before the realities of urban-industrial life. In 1830, even in 1846, Lawrence was a strip of land beside the Merrimack River. In 1865 Lawrence was a booming factory city. The onslaught of urban problems is predictable in the rapid creation of a large city from a river bank, and this fact alone would make Lawrence an interesting study; but Lawrence is particularly fascinating because, as much as Brook Farm or a twentieth century English New Town, it was the conscious and deliberate creation of men who had an utopian vision. Pecuniary gain was certainly a motive, but the founders of Lawrence were also inspired with a vision of a new type of community: a modern, industrial city in which would prevail the harmony and morality of the Lawrence brothers' boyhood memories of Groton. In Lawrence the contradiction at the heart of the social thought of Massachusetts educators was exposed once and for all. Education failed to create the country in the city: with the best educational system that could be devised Lawrence still developed the universal diseases of urban life. The early history of Lawrence also suggests that the stress on the role of education in industrial development was somewhat of an exaggeration. The labor power that built and manned the great mills and factories was not the loving hand of the artist laborer but, for the most part, the untutored efforts of uneducated Irish immigrants and their children. In spite of the arguments and surveys of Mann and later Boutwell concerning the productivity of educated labor, Lawrence managed to combine industrial greatness with mass ignorance.

The first American industrialists were keenly aware of the misery and degradation characteristic of the great European manufacturing centers, and they had no intention of recapitulating the experience of the old world in the new. On a visit to England Nathan Appleton, a leader in early textile manufacture, asked whether the "degredation" of the operatives "was the result of the peculiar occupation, or of other and distinct causes." He concluded there was no reason "why this peculiar description of labour should vary in its effects upon character from all other occupations."[156] Part of the problem in Europe stemmed from a lack of concern for the morality and welfare of the operatives, and American manufacturers determined to prevent the development of social misery through a paternalistic supervision of their workers. In the first place, they assumed that their labor force would come not from the lowest levels of society but from New England farms. They planned to create a workforce of farm girls who would spend a few years in a mill accumulating money for a dowry. In the second place, they determined to carefully oversee the girls and, consequently, erected the now famous boarding houses in which the conduct of the girls was to be strictly supervised.[157] For the first few years at least the system seemed to work, and Appleton felt that America had avoided copying the British experience. "The contrast in the character of our manufacturing population compared with that of Europe," wrote Appleton, "has been the admiration of the most intelligent strangers who have visited us."[158]

---

[156] Nathan Appleton, Introduction of the Power Loom and the Origin of Lowell, Lowell, 1858, p. 15.

[157] On the early manufacturing cities and the ideas they represented see Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City, Cambridge, 1964, esp. pp.60-61; Donald B. Cole, Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921, Chapel Hill, 1963, esp. ch.2; and Charles L. Sanford, "The Intellectual Origins and New-Worldliness of American Industry, Journal of Economic History,xviii,1, 1958, pp.1-16.

Appleton referred mainly to Waltham and Lowell, but the ideology he represented characterized Lawrence, too. According to the most recent historian of the city, it was to be a "model town."[159]

> Conceived, built and directed by Boston Brahmins, it was designed to produce cottons and woolens, but to do it in an environment that was physically and morally sound. To Lawrence would come sturdy mechanics to do the city's work and be uplifted in the process.[160]

To create a model town the early years were particularly important. The formative period offered "a golden opportunity. . .of laying a broad and deep foundation for a virtuous and thriving population." To lay a strong foundation a strong and vigilant city government was a necessity, stressed the Lawrence Courier. "Let the idea once become prevalent abroad that in Lawrence the reins of government will be holden with a lax, a feeble hand," wrote the editor, "and the better portion of our country will be deterred from coming here."[161] As important as firm government was a good system of schools.

---

[159] Cole, *op. cit.*, p.21.

[160] *Ibid.*, p.26. On the history of Lawrence see also Maurice B. Dorgan, *History of Lawrence with War Records*, Lawrence, 1924.

[161] *Lawrence Courier*, March 6, 1847.

On February 8, 1848, Charles Storrow, a civil engineer, one of the founders and first mayor of Lawrence, wrote Horace Mann a letter that showed clearly both the central role that education was to play in the new city and some of the key assumptions of the founders. The letter revealed that Lawrence was to be a controlled environment in which industrial overlords paternally shaped the morals and intellect of a city. Storrow remarked to Mann that since their last meeting, three months previously, the population of Lawrence had doubled and was, at present, six thousand. The population, Storrow wrote, had "come here mostly from New England homes, and therefore" had "New England wants among which schools are first." One of the educational needs of the people with New England wants was a high school, and Storrow told Mann, "Before commencing operations. . .I must see you again and have your advice."[162]

Storrow had decided that Lawrence would be the ideal location for the state's fourth normal school. The area around Lawrence needed a normal school, and Lawrence provided an ideal location since "Six railroad lines" would "shortly meet here, by means of which we shall communicate directly with Boston, Salem, Newburyport, Portland, Manchester, N.H., and Lowell." But Storrow also argued his case on grounds higher than geographic accessibility. He asked Mann to "think also for a moment of the influence which such an establishment would exert upon a community like this." In a revealing question Storrow asked: "Where else can you find as here the elements of a society ready to be moulded into a good or an evil shape; nothing to pull down, all to build up; a whole town composed of young people to influence and train as you would a school?" Lawrence was to be a huge school whose mind would be formed by Storrow and his associates. The echoes of the theory of the paternal state are clear. Clear too is a curious mixture of benevolance and hunger for power. Storrow reminded Mann that he himself had commented on the "influence. . .in a remote and uncultivated district by the presence and effort of a single well educated teacher of agreeable manners and elevated moral character." Storrow continued, "Let then the crowd of young women soon to assemble here see before their eyes such examples. . . ." Through the power of example young women would turn willingly to the schools of Lawrence.[163] Thus would Storrow insure the preservation of female virtue, Home and Mother in industrial society.

---

[162] Letter from Charles Storrow to Horace Mann, Mann Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Table 3 reveals the rapid growth of Lawrence and the predominance of the textile industry:

---

[163] *Loc*. *cit*.

Table 3. Population and Industrial Employees, Lawrence, 1850-1865

	1850	1855	1860	1865
Population	8,358	16,114	17,639	21,698
Foreign born		9,383		9,217
Hands employed in:				
Cotton industry		m. 712 f. 1,873		m. 1,012 f. 1, 715
Woolen industry		m. 1,310 f. 1,000		m. 758 f. 1,290
Other industries		2,007		4,216
Total		6,902		8, 991

Nearly half of the population, including women and children, were employed in a manufacturing industry. Of these employees, over half worked in cotton or woolen mills. However, the people from "New England homes" soon lost their dominance in the population. Seven years after its founding Lawrence was roughly half immigrant, and most of the newcomers were Irish.

The thought and care represented by the creation of the school system reflected the importance Storrow placed on education. In their report for the school year 1848-49 the Lawrence school committee set forth their conception of an ideal school system. Interestingly, one of the members of the first school committee was J.D. Herrick, whose career was an ironic commentary on the assumptions of the leading citizens. Herrick eventually served as superintendent of schools and head of the police force.[164] In the school committee's blueprint of an ideal school system the high school was the apex of a four stage system of schools. Each stage was of importance to the committee who claimed, "we would not dispense with one of the series." In the same report the committee's desire for the most modern and efficient school system possible was shown again by its detailed discussion of school furniture and architecture.[165]

---

[164] Dorgan, op. cit., pp.83 and 89.

[165] Lawrence. . .1848-49, 1849, pp.3-7:
The Statute considers a child of four years of age, admissable to the public schools. Let those of this early age, be collected in primary schools, to be scattered over the territory of the town, and made of as easy access as is possible, to these infant aspirants after knowledge. In these, they may together acquire the alphabet of science. When able to read sentences, and when they have been initiated into the simplest mysteries of numbers, which will ordinarily be at the age of seven, let them be transferred to a school of a higher degree, where with others of like advancement, they may progress in reading, mental arithmetic, and acquire some of the rudiments of geography. At the age of ten, a child of common abilities, if it has been regular at school, will be capable of reading tolerably well; will have mastered the fundamental rules of arithmetic, and have acquired a general geographical knowledge of his own and other countries, and the foundation principles of grammar. He is now ready to pass into a school of a higher grade, or the grammar school, where, under the superivision of a competent master assisted by female teachers, he will acquaint himself more extensively with grammar, geography, arithmetic, reading and give attention to penmanship, human anatomy, and physiology, history, algebra, etc. In this school, classed with others of the same qualifications and in the same studies, subject to a healthy emulation, many will finish their term of study, and go forth qualified for the various vocations of life. Many of our youth, anxious to release their parents from the burden of their support, will be induced, after they have enjoyed for a season the advantages of the grammar school, to engage in some employment, in which they can provide for themselves and be acquiring a knowledge of some industrial pursuit. But if desirous of advancing farther, and in addition to the branches taught in the grammar schools, they

Yet even the best possible school system failed to maintian prosperity, social harmony and morality. In 1856 the editor of the Courier claimed, 'it is no use to deny that Lawrence is a very fluctuating and uncertain place of business - today flooding and overflowing every branch of business - tomorrow, withdrawing almost the means of subsistence, from the most cautious enterprises and the most assiduous industry and perseverance."[166] Indeed, the newspapers are studded with reports of depressions and booms, the most disastrous being the depression of 1857 when banks were suspended and, at one time or another, every mill was closed.[167]

Newspapers also reported that immorality and poverty accompanied the failure to maintain a steady prosperity. In 1855 the editor of the Courier lamented the low reputation of the city: "As the abode of swindlers, as a stopping place for thieves, as a resort for gamblers, this city is not entirely an unknown quarter of the globe."[168] But

---

would learn something of natural philosophy, geometry, ancient geography, book-keeping, composition, or pursue a course of classical study preparatory for College - an opportunity is afforded in the 'High School' - the highest of the series. Well endowed by the liberality of one of our citizens, with an illustrative apparatus and furnished with a competent teacher, the High School is intended to thoroughly qualify our young men for any of the common callings of life, and our young women for teaching, or the responsible duties belonging to their sex.

[166] Lawrence Courier, April 11, 1856, p.2.

[167] Lawrence Courier, April 24, 1853; December 11, 1854; January 1,1855, January 8, 1855; July 10, 1855; April 11, 1856; January 9, 1857; February 18, 1857; Septebmer, 1857, passim., October 16, 1857; August 9, 1860 and Lawrence Sentinel, February 9, 1861.

[168] Lawrence Courier, December 25, 1855.

the problem had not taken a decade to develop. Even in 1846, during the construction of the city, the Merrimac Courier noticed with dismay, "Drunken men stagger and reel through our streets - night is made hideous by their yells, and honest men fear their personal safety. . . ."[169] Nor did the problem disappear with time. In 1864 the Sentinel, for instance, complained of the "immorality and blackguardism exhibited upon our public streets and commons."[170]

Poverty, too, was a serious problem. During the depression of 1857 the president of the Provident Relief Association told of "nine different families, wholly without food or fire - the children huddled in bed or perhaps trying to keep warm by the fragments of their scanty stock of furniture, while the thermometer was near or below zero. . . .[171] In 1859 the Courier reported another example, allegedly far from atypical. Except for a few odd jobs the father of a family of respectable church members with four children had been unemployed since the depression of 1857, and the family lived on the earnings of two boys, aged eight and twelve. "Their chief articles of food had been potatoes and cabbages, and the woman said no one knew how much she had suffered nights from the cold."[172] With poverty came serious housing problems. Boarding houses for single workers may have been satisfactory, but benevolance did not extend to the tenements for families. In a complaint echoed throughout this period one correspondent to the Courier claimed that, "The poor whatsoever may be their character, must be crowded into ill-constructed and inconvenient houses, several families under one roof. . . ."[173]

---

[169] Merrimac Courier, November 21, 1846.

[170] Lawrence Sentinel, August 27, 1864.

[171] Lawrence Courier, January 16, 1857.

[172] Ibid., February 3, 1859.

The general lament of the newspapers was echoed by schoolmen who looked with horror at the fate of children in Lawrence. When Lawrence officially became a city in 1853, the pattern of school administration changed, and reports were written henceforth by a paid superintendent, elected from the members of the committee. With dismay the first superintendent admitted that the schools had failed to reach large numbers of children. "There are now in the city upwards of two hundred boys and girls between five and fifteen years old," he claimed, "who keep aloof from school and have no regular employment." The superintendent described the occupation of these children who spent their "time in prowling about shops, alleys and backyards, pilfering swill, fuel, old iron, and such more valuable articles as happen to be unprotected." Yet, the committee noted, these children were educated. The superintendent had a broad definition of education which included, really, all formative influences and, of these, there were plenty in Lawrence:

> The two hundred little mauraders rarely if ever enter a school of literature and science, of wisdom and virtue; but through each live-long day they are taught by example, and their knowledge fixed by practice, in the school of the street, where the viola-

---

[173] Lawrence Courier, August 26, 1853. See also Lawrence Sentinel, August 19, 1865.

> tion of every moral precept and duty form the manners and the evening lesson.[174]

The superintendent declared that in its "minor bearings" this was a situation of considerable importance. Unfortunate were "the losses from theft, the malicious mischief done to public and private property, the occasional disturbance of schools and religious meetings, and the frequent and increasing insults to women and children." But more serious was the influence of the two hundred vagabonds on the respectable children who, brought into contact with them, were "introduced to the Primary School of Vice." Even worse, perhaps, was the fact that these urchins would soon be parents, "training up a new generation after their own ideas and exerting an equal power to the most exemplary in determining the character of our institutions."[175] In five years Lawrence had changed from a model town of New Englanders hungry for schools to a Primary School of Vice.

To schoolmen the apathy of parents had a critical influence on the moral degradation of the children. George Packard, the superintendent in 1855, claimed that the attempts of the school committee to create public interest in education had failed and that this failure was attributable to both native and Irish parents:

> We have a large foreign population, many of whom are almost wholly untaught themselves, and are strangely indifferent to the education

---

[174] Lawrence. . .1852-53, 1853, pp.20-21.

[175] Loc. cit.

> of their children. Too many instances of the like sad indifference occur among American born parents. All efforts to awaken this class, have thus far signally failed.[176]

With similar motivation the superintendent for 1858, Henry K. Oliver, addressed five requests to parents: he urged them to allow their children to complete the entire school course, to enforce regular attendance, to insure punctuality, to visit the schools and to keep informed concerning the progress of their children. He addressed himself especially to the parents of high school students:

> The pupils of High Schools are more prone to fail in these pursuits, to be absent for less pressing causes than the general run of scholars of other schools. Their near approach to that period of life when they are to become lawfully independent of parental sway and the common custom among parents of holding older children under diminished restraint, cause them to feel less responsible to the checks that ordinarily control, and more disposed to act for themselves and under the imulse of their own inclinations. They begin to feel themselves to be more than incipient men and women, and that in 'putting away childish things' they may fairly put away that very childish thing. . .reverenced. . .heretofore, called parental authority.[177]

In an urban society the combination of adolescence and the weakening of parental discipline was destroying the hold of the older generation upon the younger. The attendance problems of the high school reflected the attendance problems of the home. The wrong influences were providing the education of children for whose delivery into rational, moral citizenship the school committee, at least, had labored hard.

According to the superintendent's report for 1859 morality was indeed on the wane. Many children were being brought up to an "inheritance of vice. . .educated to skill in practical crime, and to skill in adroit concealment of crime, and escape from its consequences." The whole pernicious tendency was reflected in the growing stratification of society, "an increasing separation and enlargement of distance between the several classes. . .from the increase of wealth. . .civilization . . .and high intellectual development." Sometimes high intellectual development dampened a person's social sympathies, and this was extremely unfortunate at a time when the lower classes required the ministrations of the intelligent. To halt the decay of society which, the superintendent admitted, "invariably results from higher civilization," was the duty of the government,which should "step in to protect, to defend, to reform, and to punish." If compulsory education was evaded, compulsory reform school should follow.[178]

---

[176] Ibid., 1856-57, 1857, p.6.

[177] Ibid., 1857-58, 1858, p.62.

The nature of the population of Lawrence posed a number of specific problems for the schools. One problem was the fluctuation in enrollment. Again and again schoolmen reported that a drifting but increasing population made enrollment impossible to predict,and hence planning was extremely difficult.[179] During the depression of 1857 children lost their jobs and, unemployed, turned in droves to the schools. Schoolmen welcomed them, claiming that some good might result from the evils of the depression, but overcrowding became acute.[180] The fluctuating and growing enrollment, however, was not spread evenly throughout the four kinds of schools. In 1858, for instance, 2,016 children attended the primary and middle schools and only 1,044 the grammar and high schools.[181] On the one hand, argued the superintendent in 1860, primary school enrollment was high since mothers who needed to work placed their children in school at the earliest possible time while at the other end of the spectrum industrial and commercial employment opportunities militated against children staying a long time in school and, even, going to the grammar school at all.[182] Within the high school the enrollment was continually low, a cause of "notoriety," according to one superintendent. In fact, most of the students who remained in high school until graduation were girls. The low enrollment of the high school and the high proportion of dropouts (generally around two-thirds of those who entered) were constant complaints throughout reports, problems which schoolmen remained unable to solve.[183]

---

[178] Ibid., 1858-59, pp.67-72.

[179] Ibid., 1847-48, p.8; 1850-51, pp.19-20; 1852-53, p.6;1855-56, p.6; 1859-60, p.6.

Schoolmen also failed to find a satisfactory way of coping with truancy, a problem related to enrollment. As early as 1848 the school committee complained of irregular attendance, especially among the Irish.184 In 1850 they urged the passing of by-laws to deal with truants because the problem was increasing.[185] By 1854 the school committee, increasingly disturbed, was unsuccessfully urging the establishment of a special school for truants. The city did establish a truant committee which was supposed to review cases and decide how to deal with offenders, but in 1860 the superintendent complained that the committee was ineffective and urged the appointment of a regular truant officer.[186] One concrete action had been taken; in the school year 1859-60 the sub-master of the Oliver grammar school started a class to which the most recalcitrant truants were sent. Ones who failed to reform or to appear were generally sent to the State Reform School at Westborough.[187] During 1861 a school janitor, probably with encouragement from the superintendent, began seeking out truants and urging them to attend school,[188] and soon he was officially appointed truant officer. The magnitude of the problem of truancy in Lawrence is indicated by the fact that in his first year of regular service the truant officer handled over five hundred different cases.[189] At first the superintendent reported glowingly on the results of the truant officer's work, but his satisfaction lasted only a short time for mass truancy failed to disappear. Finally, after much urging, the city council passed a more rigorous set of by-laws which included a provision that truants be sent to the city Almshouse. The Almshouse was to be partly remodled and turned into a truant school.[190] But the vote of the council did not solve the problem, for the next year the superintendent reported that the new by-laws had remained inoperative and that the Almshouse had not been made ready for the reception of truants.[191]

---

[180] Ibid., 1856-57, pp.5 and 27.

[181] Ibid., 1857-58, p.8.

[182] Ibid., 1859-60, p.5.

[183] Ibid, 1852-53, p.12; 1860-61, pp.11-12; 1861-62, pp.12-13; 1862-63, pp.11-12; 1863-64, pp.6, 15-16; 1864-65, pp.12 and 22.

---

[185] Ibid., 1850-51, pp.7-8.

[186] Ibid., 1858-59, pp.22-24.

[187] Ibid, 1859-60, p.11.

[188] Ibid, 1860-61, pp.14-15.

[189] Ibid., 1861-62, pp.10-12.

The problems of enrollment and truancy were compounded by the confusion caused by the establishment of Catholic schools early in the history of the city. The school committee frequently made hostile comments about parochial schools, and the peak of their bitterness occured in 1854, a year of intense and widespread Know-Nothing activity in Lawrence. During 1854 a number of incidents underlined the native-Irish hostility in the town. Irish and Americans rioted in the streets;[192] in June an Irish girl who lived with an American family was walking to public school when her sisters grabbed her and tried to force her to come away with them. Native bystanders intervened, and a serious brawl nearly started. The town marshal arrived quickly and took the girl to the court house where she tearfully admitted that she wished to go with her sisters. This the marshal permitted, and the girl was hustled out through a back door to avoid the angry crowd waiting in front.[193] Later the same month a similar case occured, only this time the girl elected to stay with the American family and became a target for epithets hurled at her by the Irish.[194]

---

[190] Ibid., 1863-64, p.18.

[191] Ibid., 1864-65, p.17.

[192] Lawrence Courier, July 11, 1854.

In their report for 1854 the school committee complained that the parochial schools (they termed them "Romanist") had undermined educational planning. Catholic children were leaving and re-entering school at such an erratic pace that no enrollment predictions could be made. Even more seriously, the very children "emanating from a class of our population so destitute of domestic advantages, as to make them special candidates for all benefits of our school system" had been removed from the influence of excellent teachers and facilities and placed in decidedly inferior institutions. In criticizing the Catholic schools the superintendent realized the gravity of the charges he was making, but he felt that he had obtained sufficient evidence. Large numbers of children who were allegedly attending Catholic schools were, in reality, roaming the streets, and the task of determining who was a truant had become impossible. Children returning to the public schools brought shocking stories; and the returning students, teachers noticed, had declined mentally during their term at the Catholic school.

---

[193] Ibid., June 9, 1854.

[194] Ibid., June 16, 1854.

What could be done? The superintendent realized that Catholics had every legal and constitutional right to establish their own schools, but he urged the state legislature to pass a law establishing qualifications that would apply to the teachers and conduct of both private and public schools.[195]

In spite of the urging of the state representative from Lawrence, the Legislature did not pass the law, and the problem became more acute. State law required children employed in manufacturing to obtain a certificate signed by a teacher stating that they had attended school for a stiuplated number of weeks. At times superintendents of mills overlooked the regulation; at other times they accepted certificates signed by the teachers of parochial schools. The school committee avoided confronting the latter practice until after the great fire in the Pemberton Mills in 1860 when a factory superintendent, inundated with new certificates (the old had been burned) asked the committee if he could legally accept those from the Catholic teachers. The committee's lawyer maintained that it was necessary for the certificates to be signed by a teacher approved by the town school committee. The committee thought this implied that only public school certificates henceforth would be accepted.[196]

---

[195] Lawrence. . .1853-54, 1854, pp.8-12.

[196] On the problem see, Ibid., 1854-55, pp.7-9; 1859-60, pp.9-12; 1860-61, p.12; 1862-63, pp.20-24.

To the consternation of the committee the teacher of the largest Catholic school appeared with his staff and requested an examination. After some hesitation the committee agreed to examine the Catholic teachers. The committee claimed that they had asked their usual questions and had found that all but the principal were grossly incompetent and could not be judged suitable persons to certify to the education of the children employed in manufacturing.[197] The outcome of the examination is, however, unclear since it is not certain that factory superintendents heeded the finding of the school committee. Many children continued to be enrolled annually in the Catholic schools, and it is reasonable to assume that if they had been unable to obtain employment with the certificates from their Catholic teachers, their parents would have sent them to public schools. Thus, in spite of the examination the problem of the alleged inferiority of the Catholic schools remained unsolved. One issue was resolved, however, Catholic teachers cooperated with the town truant officer, and it became possible to separate truants from students enrolled in parochial schools.[198]

Schools became a partisan political issue for the first time during the Know-Nothing agitation. Since the founding of the city each political party had offered a separate slate of candidates for school committee, but the party press did not criticize the committee that was elected, even when it was dominated by the opposition. However, in 1855 the

---

[197] Ibid., 1859-60, pp.9-12.

[198] Ibid., 1862-63, p.20.

Know-Nothings captured the committee. Both the Whig and Democratic papers were hostile, the latter most virulently. Attacks centered on the alleged incompetence of the superintendent. His report was criticized as semi-literate; his custodial care of school property was attacked, and his conduct of the annual examination of teachers was mercilessly lampooned. According to the Democratic Sentinel the Superintendent asked ridiculously easy questions until the end of the examination when he introduced a spelling word that none of the teachers had ever heard before. When asked to define the word, the superintendent suddenly became flustered and changed the subject. The charge was expressed vividly by a poet in the Sentinel:

Rusher's Examination of Teachers,
An Accurate Account of What Actually Happened in Ye Town of
Laurentium, in Ye 19th century, compiled from ye Best Authorities.

A teacher is wanted - the order has gone forth,
Young ladies from far - and young ladies more near,
In response to the summons quite promptly appear,
And assuming their places are ready to show forth
How well they're prepared for the pedagogue's sphere.

So there sat the ladies, demure in a row
While the learned Sandhedrin for judgment prepare,
With their stock of strange questions selected with care;
And the chief, girding on now, his buckler and bow
Gazes round on his victims with terrible stare.

Addition, subtraction, Division, and all that,
And twice ten are twenty, and twice two are four,
And a thousand's a lot; if it isn't some more,
Were examined in turn, til the Rusher's block hat,*
Crowded off with the pressure,and fell to the floor.

Then next came the spelling - a full, thorough trial
With words of one syllable, sometimes of two,
One h-a-t hat, r-a-t rat, and c-a-t- cat,
Were all passed in review.

All thought, but the Rusher, the spelling was royal,**
But without the *great* question, *he* could not be through.

So here he brings forward the charm talismanic,
The touchstone of learning and talent and wit -
FEOFEE - that's the word, and who cannot spell it,
Tho' possessed of all knowledge, and virtue's angelic
For a primary teacher, oh sure she's not fit.

. . . .

But alas! and alack! from one to another
The fatal word passed to the end of the row,
And no one could spell it, - They e'en did not know
Its existence before - and so in a bother
Requested the Rusher its meaning to show.

He scratched up his scull cap - he rubbed up his eye.
And he twitched at his collar - still nothing would do-
Then he thumbed his old nose till they say it was blue;
Till at last in despair, he confessed with a sigh
That he "hadn't *examined from that point of view*."***

*It is said yt ye Rusher is much given to wearing of ye hat in meetings.
**Ye term Rusher, it hath been said, was first applied to ye individual in question from ye fact yt he is one of ye unfortunates, who *will* rush in where angels fear to tread.
***Ye reports say yt Rusher appeared at this juncture terribly obfusticated and he seemed desirous of changing ye subject.

The *Sentinel* charged the Superintendent Williams ("Rusher's" real name) and the committee were so incompetent that the old school committee had to conduct the examination of high school students, which they did free of charge. The nativist paper, of course, tried to refute the charges of the *Sentinel* and claimed that Williams had held responsible posts in educational administration before coming to Lawrence and that he had conducted the teacher examinations well. In his annual report Williams himself answered charged concerning the mishandling of school maintenance. Actually, Williams' report is far from semi-literate and compares favorably with most others. In fact, the Know-Nothing city administration must have cared considerably for the schools. In 1855-56 both the per pupil expenditure and the school tax rate were the highest in the history of Lawrence in this period. Williams' literacy and the high spending imply that the charges of the Sentinel were founded primarily on a combination of political animosity and a hostility to an increase in taxes. A similar event occured during the same year. Mr. Fairfield, a teacher in the South grammar school, was fired. The Democratic Sentinel attributed the firing to Fairfield's refusal to join the Know-Nothing movement. The nativist American claimed he was incompetent and personally disagreeable. In this case a group of the most distinguished citizens of the city signed a memorial testifying to Fairfield's high qualifications, a fact which implies that the Sentinel's charges may have been justified.[199]

Other private schools besides those of the Catholics posed a problem for the city. From the founding of Lawrence newspapers advertised private schools offering both primary and high school education. The most successful and respected was Mr. Blaisdale's school, which was operated from the earliest years of the city until Blaisdale's death in 1861. One correspondent in a newspaper charged that the school committee members themselves sent their children to Blaisdale's and to other private schools and academies.[200] However, the committee itself noted that some of the parental apathy towards education stemmed from the private schools. In particular, private schools, they held, cut down the attendance at the high school. In 1865 the superintendent asserted that the high school offered an education both excellent and practical, but he was severly disappointed at the response of the citizens. He asked:

---

[199] On the controversies over Williams and Fairfield see, Lawrence Sentinel, January 26, 1856; March 15, 1856; May 17, 1856; September 16, 1856; Lawrence American, January 19, 1856; February 2, 1856, November 2, 1856 and Lawrence. [illegible] 1855-56, 1856, pp.13-14.

> Do the citizens of Lawrence realize that their high school furnishes better facilities for the education of their sons and daughters than many, not to say any, of the academies of the land? If they did, would there not be many more of their sons availing themsleves of the rich privileges it offers at their doors?[201]

The "rich privileges" of the education offered in Lawrence schools were intended to be more moral than intellectual. It is "obvious," asserted superintendent Henry K. Oliver, "that heart-culture should be paramount to brain-culture, moral culture to intellectual culture."[202] Oliver warned of dire consequences,

> unless the heart be so influenced in the tenderness of its young growth, that goodness becomes part of its nature, unless the mind be so trained in the pliancy of its formation, that habits of right are ingrained into its very constitution, so that. . . the evil that abounds in the world and that gloats with triumphant riot over the ruined hearth-stones of millions, will be resisted by the novices that are successively assailed as they enter upon life's duties.[203]

---

[200] On private schools in Lawrence see Merrimac Courier, April 17,1847; Lawrence Courier, October 31, 1854; Lawrence Sentinel, June 26, 1850; April 13, 1861; Lawrence Daily Journal, November 14, 1861; Lawrence American, April 16, 1864; February 4, 1865.

[201] Lawrence. . .1864-65, 1865, p.22.

[202] Ibid., 1857-58, p.48.

[203] Ibid., 1856-57, p.38.

Schools were the "most effectual means of guarding the young against the many evils that surround them in childhood and will environ them in all of subsequent life."[204] Heart culture was especially necessary in Lawrence; required were "influences. . .counteracting the growth" of the "stupendous evils" surrounding students.[205] Without education of the heart society itself might crumble: "as surely as darkness succeeds to the absence of sun, so surely doth the misery of the individual and of society - so surely does the insecurity of society in every matter - follow from the absence of a right education of the individual."[206]

Because of the special importance of heart culture in the urban environment of Lawrence schoolmen felt that primary schools required more attention than they were usually given. The "first influences" upon a child were crucial; thus, argued the school committee, "Primary schools should have an influence over the future education of the children, that should cause them to stand very high in the estimation of the public. . . ." In Lawrence, unlike other cities, the committee continued, there was a "fuller recognition of the greatness of the work to be done in them," and consequently "we pay the teachers the same salary as the teachers in the middle and grammar schools."[207]

---

[204] Ibid., 1856-57, p.59.

[205] Ibid., 1857-58, p.48.

[206] Ibid., p.59.

[207] Ibid., 1852-53, p. 16. Also, 1856-57, pp.46-47 and 63.

Purely intellectual education, claimed Superintendent Oliver, could be positively harmful if carried too far, and he was especially worried about the girls of Lawrence. He complained that their "mental education" was carried to such an extreme that it became deblitating and that their education for motherhood was neglected. He lamented, "we have no romping girls, no capering 'tomboys,' with straight limbs, active frames, and plump with robust health. . .but a dwindling race of pale-faced, sallow-skinned, wasp-waisted damsels. . . ." Moreover, girls were neglecting the "trying matters of housewifery." Aside from acquiring the skills of literacy and numeracy, girls, he contended, should receive a thorough education in the "elementary" branches of advanced subjects such as Moral, Intellectual and Natural Philosophy, Physiology ("by all means"), Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy, History and Algebra. But when girls left school at eighteen, their studies should be completed by "Home and Mother," something "much and transcendently important."[208]

Although Lawrence schoolmen emphasized the importance of moral education, they did not neglect the intellectual, as their frequent and careful revisions of the high school curriculum revealed. In 1853 the committee extended the classical course to four years, and in the late 1850's they revised the whole curriculum. Throughout the state, argued the superintendent, more subjects than could be covered adequately were being added to the curriculum, which grew by a process of accretion;

---

[208] _Ibid._, _1856-57_, pp.57-59.

Purely intellectual education, claimed Superintendent Oliver, could be positively harmful if carried too far, and he was especially worried about the girls of Lawrence. He complained that their "mental education" was carried to such an extreme that it became deblitating and that their education for motherhood was neglected. He lamented, "we have no romping girls, no capering 'tomboys,' with straight limbs, active frames, and plump with robust health. . .but a dwindling race of pale-faced, sallow-skinned, wasp-waisted damsels. . . ." Moreover, girls were neglecting the "trying matters of housewifery." Aside from acquiring the skills of literacy and numeracy, girls, he contended, should receive a thorough education in the "elementary" branches of advanced subjects such as Moral, Intellectual and Natural Philosophy, Physiology ("by all means"), Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy, History and Algebra. But when girls left school at eighteen, their studies should be completed by "Home and Mother," something "much and transcendently important."[208]

Although Lawrence schoolmen emphasized the importance of moral education, they did not neglect the intellectual, as their frequent and careful revisions of the high school curriculum revealed. In 1853 the committee extended the classical course to four years, and in the late 1850's they revised the whole curriculum. Throughout the state, argued the superintendent, more subjects than could be covered adequately were being added to the curriculum, which grew by a process of accretion;

---

[208] Ibid., 1856-57, pp.57-59.

the result was "superficiality" and "ostentation." Instead the correct way of altering the curriculum, and the one adopted in Lawrence, was to rigorously prune from the course all subjects not essential and all advanced topics more suitable for college. The result was a carefully structured curriculum including, in the three year English course, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Modern Languages, Latin, English language and Literature, and History.[209] The four year classical course included Greek as well. The committee also considered the grammar school curriculum carefully. They tried to make the grammar school course complete in itself, a thorough and good education for the many students who would not go on to high school. Especially necessary, argued the superintendent, were bookkeeping and drawing. These subjects were so important for business that if they were not included in the public school curriculum, students would have to go to private school in Lawrence or Boston to learn them.[210] The committee and superintendents urged other innovations as well. They stressed the importance of music and at times hired a special music teacher.[211] In the late 1850's and early '60's they began to emphasize physical education and object teaching and, in a few years, reported with satisfaction that these subjects had entered the curricula of most of their schools.[212]

---

[209] Ibid., 1855-56, p.24; 1857-58, pp.25-27 and 73-75.

[210] Ibid., 1862-63, pp.12 and 58.

[211] Ibid., 1857-58, pp.31 and 33 and 1860-61, pp.20-21.

[212] Ibid, 1857-58, p.38; 1859-60, pp.14-15; 1861-62, p.15; 1862-63,pp.14-16.

Voluntary associations attempted to meet particular educational needs not satisfied by the public schools. In 1861 a joint committee of all the religious denominations, except the Catholics, established a Free Evening School to be conducted by the City Missionary. The school taught the rudiments of literacy, arithmetic and some bookkeeping, and all the students were over fifteen years old. The extremely large enrollment of the school, often well over three hundred, testified both to its popularity and to the educational level of a significant portion of the population. Like the public institutions, the evening school was intended to have a moral as well as an intellectual function: "Many persons have. . .been stimulated and aided in acquiring the elements of reading and writing, or of other fundamental branches of education," claimed the superintendent, "and at the same time have been secured from the manifold temptations spread broadcast around them, during the long evenings of the Winter months." According to the school committee and the City Missionary, the Free Evening School was a complete success. The adult students who came voluntarily wereeager to learn and gratifying to teach.[213] Yet, noted one newspaper, Lawrence lacked provision for the factory operative who wanted to acquire a secondary education after working hours.[214] But the newspaper's complaint apparently met with little response, and the gap in the city's educational facilities remained.

---

[213] Ibid., 1860-61, pp.21-22; 1862-63, p.25; 1863-64, pp.14-15.

[214] Lawrence Daily Journal, March 23, 1861.

....

In 1853 the Essex Company donated ten choice acres of land on a hill overlooking the city as a public park. In rapturous terms the Courier responded:

> In the rapid development of our young community, in the midst of the material and moral changes taking place yearly and daily amount [sic] us, it will sinely [sic] hereafter be interesting to find one spot at least retaining most of its original features; one worded [sic] summit, which while all around its base is undergoing transformation, shall remain sacred from the intrusion of the spade and shovel, and whose trees so lately waving over neglected farms, shall grow to adorn with their shade the abode of civilization and the arts.[215]

The response of the Courier symbolized the goal of the founders of Lawrence: the preservation of the best features of an idealized rural life in the midst of a manufacturing community. The primary mechanism for effecting this delicate balance was education. In education they invested heavily, and the leading citizens of Lawrence were proud of their school system. Indeed, they argued more than once that it was among the very finest in the state.[216] And they had cause to be proud; their school system represented the most advanced system of grading, teachers were hired with great care, curricular and pedagogical innovations were adopted. Yet in spite of the excellence of their schools and the intensity of their efforts Lawrence schoolmen watched with dismay the development of typical urban problems accompanying the growth of their city. Despite the best educational system a group of informed Massachusetts citizens could devise, Lawrence was a city characterized by discord, immorality and poverty. Lawrence offered Massachusetts educators a chance to play their trump card, instead it called their bluff.

---

[215] Lawrence Courier, November 1, 1855.

[216] Lawrence. . .1852-53, pp.23-24; 1856-57, pp.42 and 54.

The failure of the schools of Lawrence to reach their goals represents the failure of urban school reform, a failure echoed around the state. The schools failed to reach their ends, first, because those ends were impossible to fulfill. They failed, second, because of the style of educational development. Educational reform and innovation represented the imposition by social leaders of schooling upon a reluctant, uncomprehending, skeptical and sometimes, as in Beverly, hostile citizenry. Social and cultural antagonisms that delayed and made difficult the achievement of innovation could not be simply erased after new schools had been built. From on high the school committees, representing the social and financial leadership of towns and cities, excoriated the working class parents. They founded schools with a sense of superiority, not compassion. They forced education, and they forced it fast and hard; no time was allowed for the community to accustom itself to novel institutions or ideas about the length of school life. School committees hoped to serve their own ends and the ends of the status anxious parents that supported them; one of those ends involved the unification of urban society. Ironically, their ideology and style could not have been better designed to alienate the very people whom they strove to accomodate in a more closely knit social order. In making the urban school educational promoters of the mid-nineteenth century fostered that estrangement between the school and the working class community that has persisted to become one of the greatest challenges to reformers of our own time.

Part Two. THE USES OF PEDAGOGY
Teachers and the Educational Process

Prologue: The Heresy of Cyrus Peirce

Cyrus Peirce was one of the most respected educators in the state. Horace Mann had been so impressed by a visit to Nantucket High School that he had chosen its principal, Peirce, to head the first public normal school in America, founded in 1839. Peirce's struggles in the early days of the normal school had been truly valiant, but overwork had ruined his health. When he had to retire, praise was heard on all sides. By 1839 Cyrus Peirce was an elder statesman of the educational revival. Therefore, when that august body of reformers, The American Institute of Instruction, long champions of normal schools, viciously attacked as heresy a mildly censorious speech by Peirce, something was very wrong.[1]

By 1853 educators had developed an emotional commitment to an ideology that awarded them the critical role in the salvation of mankind.[2] Throughout

---

[1] Massachusetts Teacher vi, 10, October, 1853, pp. 310-312 and 320-322. For biographical details on Peirce (1790-1860) see Reverend Samuel J. May, "Memoir of Cyrus Peirce," The American Journal of Education. iv, 2, December, 1857, pp. 275-308.

[2] By "ideology" I mean substantially the same thing as Merrill D. Petersen, who writes:

> The term ideology is given to that synthesis of ideas and representations designed to state an ideal and to motivate action. It may be true in some of its parts; but it is a gross oversimplification both of history and of the existing situation,

Massachusetts the development of a theory of administrative and institutional reform was accompanied by the growth of a theory of the educational process. Joined to the making of urban schools was the making of an urban pedagogy. In this urban pedagory educators acquired a tremendous personal stake.

Schoolmen agreed that Massachusetts should continue to strive for a prosperity based on large-scale industrial development. They also agreed that the growth of cities and factories fostered familial and social decay, and they argued that education should both promote and counteract urbanism and manufacturing. High schools, one feature of a system of administrative and institutional reorganization, were to accomplish both goals. Another means of reaching the schoolmen's goals was to try to transform the educational process. Schoolmen agreed that economic transformation produced social decay through its pernicious effects on personality. To counteract these effects they proposed that the inculcation of restraint as a trait of character become the goal of the educational process. Assumptions concerning the effects of society on personality and the goal of the educational process were widely shared as were assumptions concerning the nature of that process itself. However, a debate emerged over the methods through which shared assumptions and goals should be translated into practice. Both sides in the debate argued that the techniques of the other would not produce the restraint

---

> the true recognition of which would not be an accord with the feelings and interests of the men who advance the ideology.

(*The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, New York, 1960, Galaxy Edition, 1962, p.21n) On ideology see also Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, first published in English, 1936, Harvest Books edition, 1963.

necessary to counteract the pernicious influence of society upon personality. In a sense, both sides were right, for there was an unresolved contradiction in the arguments of each. And the side that clearly won, the side whose arguments became elevated to the status of a dominant ideology, diffused a theory that reflected the ambivalence of schoolmen to society. They argued for counteracting social ills by producing the very personality qualities that, in effect, would augment the worst of them.

1. Society's "hot stimulus of action" and the Necessity of Restraint

The shared assumptions of schoolmen concerning the pernicious effects of society upon personality focused on the observation that urbanism promoted a reliance upon external stimuli rather than upon the dictates of an inner sense of purpose and a personal set of ethical standards. America, claimed an article in the Massachusetts Teacher, had a universal reputation for "activity, practicality and material prosperity." The distinguishing features of this prosperity were "a flourishing agriculture, and a commerce of unrivalled growth" combined with remarkably rapid urbanization; "cities," that is, "were springing into life on every side." The steamboat, the railroad and the telegraph revolutionized communications while other inventions made industry "every day more speedy and profitable." In surveying the scene, the article claimed, "the national heart leaps and well nigh bursts with exultation."[3]

---

[3] Massachusetts Teacher, xii, 9, September 1858, pp. 347-349.

But the national heart also had cause for concern. The triumph of the material aspects of civilization was accompanied by the frantic pursuit of wealth and the ostentatious and wasteful extravagence of the newly rich. Truly, American society, claimed the article, revealed "a baneful love of display."[4] This love of display had become "one of the greatest motive-powers of American society," and the criteria of merit had become "dress, equipage . . .style of living," and "real or feigned possessions." In an increasingly affluent society ostentation had become the mark of the American. The heart of the problem with ostentation was that, "The spirit of the people is almost wholly directed to that which is outward. Here lies the essence of the materialism of the age." Another writer echoed the same point: the admirable material progress of Massachusetts had fostered "energy, activity and enterprise," but, unfortunately, it had also promoted "the noisy, the showy, and superificial, to the neglect of what we most need - the broad-based and deep-rooted in mind and morals."[5] As the point of reference for their actions Americans were taking, not the promptings of conscience or internal standards, but, rather, the possessions and opinions of others, of a venal and shallow society.

Materialism and shallowness were inherently dangerous because they bred the temptation to more serious sin. Massachusetts, according to an article in the Common School Journal, was in particular danger:

---

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Ibid., ii, 6, June, 1849, p. 167.

> What we call civilization and progress, have increased temptation a thousand fold;--in this country, ten thousand fold. The race for wealth, luxury, ambition and pride, is open to all. With our multiplied privileges, have come not only multiplied obligations, which we may condemn, but multiplied dangers into which we may fall. . .In this country, all that is base and depraved in the human heart has such full liberty and wide compass, and hot stimulus of action, as has never been known before.[6]

The problem was that everything was easy. Sin was to be had without difficulty; so, too, unfortunately, were money and luxury. In the softness of affluence one point was forgotten, and schoolmen waged a continual battle for its re-entry into the public mind; that was, simply, "that nothing worth possessing can be had without labor."[7] Schoolmen applied their dictum to education, as "Nothing is truly valuable in education that does not cost real, steady, energetic effort to secure."[8] One commentator attributed the frequent success in adult life of country boys over city youths to the former's tough education. An instructional error, claimed the writer, had begun "in the metropolitan schools, and" was "permeating all the institutions for instruction": namely, "'Too much direct help, too much pampering.'" Pampering was pernicious, for one reason, because it sapped the strength of the individual and injured him in his adult life, where there would be "no friendly arm to lean upon, no cultivated determination to brace up, but a faltering incompetency that ends in vain wishes and empty resolutions." And how would "faltering incompetency. . .and empty resolutions" fare when confronted with the city's "hot stimulus of action"? Needed was "a strong and resolute well-balanced character," a character obtainable only through "severe discipline."[9]

---

[6] Common School Journal, xii, 15, August, 1850, p. 236.

[7] Massachusetts Teacher, ii, 7, July 1849, p. 213.

[8] Ibid., xv, 8, August 1862, p. 274.

Any term referring to an easy or soft quality was pejorative, and such terms used repeatedly to describe the attitude of parents to their children. Society as a whole was soft; so too were metropolitan educational methods; so, too, was the family. For instance, educators' exhortations regarding the necessity of regular and punctual attendance of children at school were almost always accompanied by terms referring to parental management as indulgent and permissive. "Let 'Need I go to school today?' be a question to be settled every morning, between a boy six years old, and his indulgent, yielding mother" and pernicious effects will follow, claimed a writer in the Massachusetts Teacher.[10] The "indulgent", "yielding" character of family life implied a clear duty for the schools. If society was characterized by soft temptations, and if susceptibility to these temptations was reinforced by the home, and, finally, if these attractions were pernicious snares, then, clearly, some institution had to intervene. The role of the school became to break dependency, to wean the child from the parent to the real world: to perform aspects of the socialization process which parents had become unable to carry out.

---

[9] Ibid., xvii, 2, February 1865, pp. 46-47.

[10] Ibid., i, 6, March 15, 1848, pp. 82-83.

"Children," analyzed one author, "are the center of observation, care and attendance of the whole family," as long as they are in the "nursery or the sitting room." Here, they learned "to feel themselves as individuals." However, "adults" were "treated by society in an entirely different way." The world of the adult was one of fixed laws and customs, wholly impersonal, often "one-sided and. . . unjust, annihilating individual liberty and dignity in a high degree." The child, in this situation, had to make a difficult transition:

> The child stands between the two extremes and a transition from the one to the other, sudden or gradual, methodical or planless, will make a vast difference in the formation of the child's character.

To effect this transition, to induct the child from the family into the adult world, was the duty of the school: "The important duty to act as a medium falls upon the school in general, and upon the Primary school in particular."[11]

A contributor to the Common School Journal claimed that the schools' assumption of socialization, including induction; resulted from the increased complexity of society. Moral and vocational education, claimed the writer, had been previously the duty of the parent; "But in the present state of society," he continued, "a vast majority of parents are unable, either on account of their own deficient education, or from want of time, to attend, in person, to the discharge of this duty." Schools were a result of this situation;

---

[11] Ibid., x, 3, March 1857, p. 103. Similarly, a writer in the Common School Journal, iii, 11, June 1, 1848, p. 168, claimed, "We must rub off the rust that sticks to us at home."

schools, that is, represented "an arrangement" entered into by all the residents of a given area to "associate themselves together, and, in their joint capacity, employ a teacher, to perform for them in the education of their children, a duty which they cannot attend to, or can only discharge imperfectly." That a teacher should be hired to educate children should not be a cause for concern; for the employment of a teacher was an example of the division of labor characteristic of the times. "In the present complicated relations of society and of business," claimed the author, "most men undertake to do more than they can personally accomplish."[12]

The school's responsibility, in its expanded tasks, included acculturation; the Boston school committee, for instance, described their task as:

> taking children at random from a great city, undisciplined, uninstructed, often with inveterate forwardness and obstinacy, and with the inherited stupidity of centuries of ignorant ancestors; forming them from animals into intellectual beings, and. . .from intellectual beings into spiritual beings; giving to many their first appreciation of what is wise, what is true, what is lovely and what is pure. . .[13]

Education, then, was partly a breaking away from the home, an eradication of pernicious or infantile qualties; but it was also a substitution; and schoolmen agreed quite precisely on what was to be replaced and on its replacement.

---

[12] Common School Journal, vii, 15, August 1, 1846, p. 226.

[13] Boston. . .1857-1858, 1858, p. 50.

Schoolmen assumed that the unfavorable influence of society upon personality was to be countered by the inculcation of a restraint based upon sublimation, a substitution of "higher" for "lower" pleasures.[14] In 1858 the Boston school committee reminded parents that "every pure and refined pleasure for which a child acquires a relish, is to that extent, a safeguard against a low and debasing one."[15] To assist the child in the attainment of the substitution of higher for lower pleasures was a key function of the school. Students were to learn to check firmly the passionate and to avoid the sensual; this, moreover, was a realistic goal for education:

> Those whose minds and whose hearts have been properly trained and disciplined by education, have control over their passions. Having cultivated a taste for simple and innocent pleasures, rather than a love for vicious excitement, their desires are awakened by objects higher than any gratification merely animal.[16]

In Beverly the same argument was used to urge the establishment of a public library. It would afford "a profitable source of recreation, and thereby" lessen "the temptation to amusements of an unworthy character. . ." Claimed the library promoters, "Nothing can be more true, than that the best means for destroying a taste for a lower pleasure, is by cultivating a taste for a higher. . ."[17] The control of the passions coincided with another goal, necessary especially for social mobility but usually expressed in rather different terms: namely, the ability to plan for the future: "Forming plans for a distant future" individuals, one writer claimed, "rise nearer and nearer to a spiritual existence."[18]

---

[14] On the nature of desired character traits see also: Francis Wayland, The Elements of Moral Science, edited by Joseph Blau, Cambridge (John Harvard Library series) 1963 and Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century, Lincoln, 1964. For a revealing and striking comparison note the social values prevalent in Britain as stressed in Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870, New Haven, 1957.

[15] Boston School Committee, op. cit., p. 50.

[16] Massachusetts Teacher, ii, 5, May 1849, p. 139.

The parents, hopefully, and the school, definitely, had to teach this lesson; substitute future for immediate gratification. The key words became control, self-discipline and restraint. No quality, in fact, was more useful and, indeed, necessary to both society and the individual than self-restraint. Restraint it was that separated the child from the adult. Men, claimed one writer, "act from principle. . . The restraints of society are felt. They can see remote consequences. But children act from the impulses of their natures quickened by the objects around them."[19] Thus, restraint was the personality characteristic central to education; on restraint focused the work of the schools, and educators stressed, repeatedly, the associated virtues of "concentration" or "fixing the attention," "earnestness," "control," and "self-discipline."

---

[17] Quoted in Robert W. Lovett, "from Social Library to Public Library: A Century of Library Development in Beverly, Massachusetts," The Essex Institute Historical Collections, v. lxxxviii, July, 1952, p. 231.

[18] Loc. cit.

[19] Massachusetts Teacher, i, 6, March 15, 1848, pp. 81-83. See also, ibid., i, 11, June 15, 1848, p. 171; i, 16, August 1, 1848, p. 243; ii, 5, May 1849, p. 139; ii, 6, June, 1849, p. 168; ii, 7, July, 1849, p. 211; iv, 2, February, 1851, p. 33; xiv, September 9, 1861, p. 329.

On the surface a contradiction existed in educational thought. For many schoolmen (as will be discussed shortly) emphasized the importance of the natural, of educational methods which accorded with nature. But restraint was designed to control natural impulse. The conflict is only surface deep, however, because of schoolmen's conception of the natural. "Every living thing below man, except those designed to share in his toils," claimed a writer in the Common School Journal, "may be said to be perfectly educated by Nature, or in accordance with the will of God;" and man was no exception; the realization of God's will was also the end of the education of man. But God's will was embodied in nature, and, thus, "Nature is as truly the standard for him, as for the nightingale or the honey-bee. . ." Herein was a problem. Would not the work of the teacher represent artificial tampering with the work of God: was not the man closest to the standard of nature the uncivilized, the uneducated? Schoolmen repudiated this implication of their theory. The "State of nature" the writer in Common School Journal contemplated was "very different from. . .a state of brutal simplicity, without brutal innocence, a state that would paralyze every power possessed by man, except the lower agents of sensuality." The hero, the model of the natural man, was not then the primitive, as the author's description of the Indian made clear:

> In our western forest is the rude child of Nature, and the least caressed of any of her children; he is so low, that even the dog, his constant companion, deteriorates in his society; he has rarely sufficient to make himself comfortable for a single week; he has no means of increasing his knowledge, but his senses and the council-fires of his fathers; when civilization touches him, it is with so rude a shock that he retreats or dies. . .[20]

Rude nature, then, needed man; the ideal was not the wild, but the cultivated. Man improved nature; and the divinity of man was represented by his latent but inherent capacity for the mastery of the untamed within both himself and the external world. Thus, concluded the author, the "natural state of man is a higher state of civilization than he has ever yet known, a state that would require the use of all his powers, in their most perfect condition." The stress on control implied an often explicit fear of the passionate and sensual. A writer in the Massachusetts Teacher exclaimed, without counter-checks upon passions, "what would our race be!"[21] And in this fear of the passionate lies one indication of the inner tension which permeated Massachusetts society in the mid-nineteenth century.

The combination of the emphasis on the substitution of pleasures and the inculcation of restraint coupled with the prevailing conception of nature reveals a deep fear of the passionate and the sensual; this fear implies a conscious attempt to sublimate, to rechannel energies away from activities leading to social and individual failure and into those fostering industrial productivity, social cohesion and individual mobility. If citizens needed an example of the failure of sublimation, they had only to look at the Irish:

---

[20] Common School Journal, ii, 23, December 1, 1840, pp. 373-374.

[21] Massachusetts Teacher, iv, 2, February 1851, p. 35.

> Did wealth consist in children, it is well known, that the Irish would be a rich people; and if the old Roman law prevailed here, which granted special privileges to every man who had more than three, this people would be elevated into an aristocracy.[22]

As anyone could see, the Irish were not an aristocracy, and wealth did not consist in children. Was the opposite true? Certainly the effort to reduce the size of families is implied by the appearance of advertisements for alleged birth-control and abortion producing pills in most newspapers of the period.[23] But birth control through artificial means was not a generally accepted notion, even if the pills did work. Thus, if it were necessary to limit family size in order to maintain an adequate standard of living and to provide for one's children, then what remained, except restraint? Historians have pointed out the status anxieties of people in the mid-nineteenth century, the fear of falling on the social scale.

---

[22] Common School Journal, ii, 4, February 15, 1840, p. 49.

[23] Newspapers in this period carried advertisements for numerous alleged birth-control and abortion-producing pills. The most widely advertised were Dr. Cheesmen's Female Regulating Pills. A typical advertisement for these read:

> The combination of ingredients in these Pills are the results of a long and extensive practice. They are mild in their operation and certain in correcting all irregularities, painful menstruations, removing all obstructions, whether from cold or otherwise, headache, pain in the side, palpitation of the heart, distrubed sleep, which always arise from interruption of nature. They can be successfully used as a preventive. These Pills should never be taken in preganancy, as they would be sure to cause a miscarriage. . .

Already we have seen these fears reflected in the desire for graded schools, ones with a built in social security principle; now the same anxiety is evident at the heart of the new urban pedagogy, in the central goal of the educational process.

In asserting the virtues of self-restraint and the pernicious effects of the easy life, schoolmen visualized themselves counteracting the dominant tendencies of their time. The editor of the *Common School Journal* warned, for instance, in 1848, that "nothing has yet been done to counteract what must inevitably lead to the ruin of our free institutions," and called for an increased attention to morality and virtue in the schools.[24] Commonly, authors juxtaposed the characteristics of Massachusetts, the domination of the workshop and factory or "insane competition for gain," "base iniquity and fraud," and the qualities and social characteristics that schools should produce; qualities such as respect for learning *per se*, or "equity and virtue."[25]

In sum, then, the educators' immense task was to supply individuals with a set of inner restraints:

> Those external restraints of blind reverence for authority, and superstitious dread of religious guides and firm penal

---

On the relation between status anxiety and an explicit emphasis on sexual restraint see: D. E. C. Eversley, *Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 89-162.

[24] *Common School Journal*, xiv, 6, March 15, 1852, p. 85.

[25] *Massachusetts Teacher*, xiv, 4, April 1861, pp. 121-124 and ix, 3, March 1856, pp. 106-107.

> codes, which once repressed the passions of men and paralyzed all energy are now lifted off. If internal and moral restraints be not substituted for the external and arbitrary ones that are removed, the people, instead of being conquerors and sovereigns over their passions, will be their victims and slaves.[26]

The emphasis on "internal" is crucial. Educators were to change the point of reference for human action from the external opinions and possessions of others to an intrinsic regulator. The child, with the help of the school, was to exchange both the indulgence of his parents and the gratifications proferred by a vain, materialistic society for a set of intrinsic controls. One schoolman exhorted, "Instil the desire to be rather than to seem."[27]

II. "the true idea of education"

The assumptions of schoolmen concerning the methods of instilling restraint rested on a tri-partite definition of the educational process. "A teacher once asked a boy, 'What do you intend to be?'" reported the Massachusetts Teacher; the boy "replied, 'I shall strive to be a man.' This answer embodies the true idea of education--moral, physical, and intellectual."[28] Massachusetts schoolmen generally would have agreed with this conclusion; three kinds of education, they claimed, existed, and each, in the proper balance, was essential to the well being of both the individual and society. In fact, the omission of any one kind could spell disaster. For instance, purely physical education would produce men "of godly appearance. . .only superior to the untamed hero of the brutes in its erect posture." The pure intellectual would have "the power to grasp the universe. . .but his rule would be the despotism of evil," and the merely moral would be a pathetic figure, "a beautiful but humiliating negation of itself." The physical and intellectual alone "would place the soul of a fallen angel in the body of a giant; while that of the moral and physical. . .might prolong the life of virtue, but only to keep it timidly in known and beaten paths." Finally, the last combination, "the moral and intellectual . . .would soon wear itself out in the intensity of its effort to work wonders without the proper mechanism."[29]

The task of the educator was clear, if immense. The assumption that the school has responsibility for the "whole man" was not a product of late nineteenth century social reform invading the school; it grew, instead, in the first flush of urbanization and industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century, because even then schoolmen asserted explicitly that the role of the family and church had altered and weakened, and they argued that the maintenance of social cohesion, even of civilized social life, rested upon the school's assumption of the process of socialization.

"The mind is a storehouse as well as a garden," wrote an author in the Common School Journal. This distinction was the epistemological basis of educational theory. The mind was both active and passive,

---

[26] Common School Journal, xii, 15, August 1, 1850, p. 236.

[27] Massachusetts Teacher, xii, 9, September 1859, p. 350.

[28] Ibid., i, 13, July 1, 1848, p. 192.

[29] Ibid., ii, 2, February 1850, p. 49.

and education had to serve both aspects. One object of education, that is, was to "quicken" the mind's perceptions; to enable it to see effects in causes." Its other object was "to store the mind with useful information."[30] The distinction between the aspects of the mind provided a way of combining both the older Lockean epistemology and the newer, Romantic theories, which stressed the inborn, native powers of the individual. Perhaps more important, the distinction had definite implications for teaching.

The "garden" aspect of the mind referred to its innate potentialities; till the soil carefully, implied the theory, and powers of thought, invention, reflection, in short, the faculties, would grow to maturity. These required a careful husbanding; they grew strong through practice and activity, not through passive reception. Memorizing facts did not aid their growth; instead, "principles must be investigated."[31] Through the investigation of principles would grow the power of mind to its ultimate goal: "to teach" the "pupil *to think* and *to think for himself*."[32] The emphasis was clearly on penetration and mastery. Education was to "prepare the mind to grapple with the difficulties of life, just as we sharpen tools in the mechanic arts,"[33] and education had to insure that the boy could digest knowledge and proceed from "fact to principle," that he could "generalize and deduce. . ." The active mind was the prerequisite for the active world of Massachusetts, whose citizens' "habitual mental state" was one "of tension." In such an atmosphere the rote learner would lose in the "struggles of" the "arena, for these require not 'words, words, words,' but ideas, which are the realities of things, and mental energy, that is, activity and perseverance in the use of them."[34] The cultivation of the powers of perseverance, mastery and penetration of appearance were necessary for more than the business world; they were necessary also for the spiritual. For God communicated with man through natural laws embodied in all the manifold objects and processes of the universe; and, thus, it was not external reality itself that mattered most but the divinity or law it represented. The power to penetrate, principle over fact, again became the object of [illegible]. But God's universe was immense and its lessons countless; thus, schoolmen argued for a conception of education as a continuous process, one in which schooling prepared the mind to acquire its continuing education for life: "To have finished education in any part of this life, is the boast and complacency only of fools. The. . .process of education is as enduring as immortality."[35]

---

[30] *Common School Journal*, v, 1, January 1, 1843, p. 7.

[31] *Massachusetts Teacher*, i, 13, July 1, 1848, p. 198.

[32] *Ibid*., ii, 6, February 1853, p. 142.

[33] *Ibid*., i, 13, July 1, 1848, p. 199.

"The organs of sense," according to an article in the Massachusetts Teacher, "are mere vehicles of ideas, and the mind is a blank, upon which the records of knowledge are to be inscribed." The Lockean side of educational theory clearly implied an imporatnt, if subordinate, place to the inculcation of useful knowledge. Indeed, the Boston English High School, which prided itself on its enlightened pedagogy, required all students to memorize, precisely, the entire U. S. Constitution. But, there was another important implication of this aspect of education because "the infant mind is, in a great measure, passive, subject to just such influences as others may choose to impress upon it."[36] The early passivity of the child, the time at which the mastering and penetrating faculties would be but seeds, left the child almost cruelly exposed to environment. The first social conditions with which the child was associated, that is, would have a tremendous impact upon his character as an adult. Indeed, when the "primitive impressions upon the infant mind" were "of an adverse nature," the teacher's work increased "tenfold." "The work of eradicating noxious weeds is often vastly greater [illegible] that of rearing an abundant and life-giving harvest."[37] The environment, then, was a key educator, and, perhaps, most educative within the environment were individual human models. The child learned by imitating adults, and a glance at the adult models in Massachusetts made some educators shudder. One writer referred to the growth of cities, luxury, drinking and other vices and answered complaints about the growth of "juvenile depravity" with the rejoinder, "Compare these things together, and then say whether *men* can any longer talk of *juvenile* depravity, without blushing to blistering."[38] Another way in which pernicious models were set before children was exemplified by the habit "among the higher and wealthier classes of society," of having children, "particularly during the earliest portion of their existence," under the care of "domestics who, not infrequently, are ignorant, supersititious, and depraved." For the teacher, the stress on the importance of models meant the necessity of placing "*an elevated standard*. . .before the mind of the pupil. . ."[39] The teacher had to create a model environment in which he, himself, exemplified the behavior of the paragon as well as the skills of the pedagogue.

---

[34] Common School Journal, i, 23, December 1, 1841, pp. 366-367.

[35] Ibid., i, 5, January 1843, p. 4.

---

[36] Massachusetts Teacher, 1, 8, April 15, 1848, p. 120.

[37] Op. cit., pp. 120-121.

The tension between the active and the passive qualities of mind, the innate and the blank, is not a contradiction. What were innate were capabilities and dispositions: The ability to think, for instance, and the tendency to be moral. Not innate were facts, concrete conceptions. The ideal became to develop the innate and supply the facts. Although the conception of gardening was widely used to express the former, this metaphor was not employed consistently. Another common conception, one sometimes used by the same people who also spoke of gardening, was shaping or molding. The teacher, that is, molded the plastic mind of the child as the Lawrence school committee wrote, "How pliable are the young minds of the little ones who attend these schools in the hands of a kind and faithful teacher; truly they are 'as clay' in the hands of the potter. They can be formed and moulded at the pleasure of the affectionate teacher."[40] The conceptions behind molding and gardening certainly differ, but the literature of pedagogy leaves the impression that they were not used to convey different ideas of mind, but, rather, quite loosely employed to convey the idea of innate potential at the mercy of a powerful teacher.

---

[38] *Common School Journal*, x, 24, December 15, 1858, p. 371.

[39] *Massachusetts Teacher*, i, 8, April 15, 1848, p. 121.

"Moral education," wrote a prize winning essayist in the *Massachusetts Teacher*, "is the great want of the age." The author's complaint in 1856 was foreshadowed in the early forties and echoed in the sixties. Schoolmen felt themselves far more successful in reaching the intellect than in touching the heart. The education of [illegible] was especially difficult since the times conspired against the schools:

> The close application to business, the incessant intellectual activity which mark [sic] the times, have a tendency to check the flow of affect and harden the heart, while the arts and commerce, the fashion and etiquette, the trade and politics of a refined civilization, foster a voluptuous materialism that would revel in ostentation and luxury.

The assignment of final influence between home, school and church was not entirely clear in this period, but there was widespread agreement that the school would have to undertake the bulk of moral education since this task was beyond the competence of the two other institutions. But how? Here, again, the emphasis was on learning through models and the grasping of the truth underlying appearances. The student, that is, would not learn morality through "lecturing on ethics, but by an upright example. . .and by improving favorable opportunities for the practical inculcation of moral truth."[41]

---

[40] *Lawrence. . .1861-62*, 1862, pp. 19-20. See also, *e. g.*, *Massachusetts Teacher*, iv, 2, February 1851, p. 119 as an example:

> "Fellow Teacher. . .your hands are daily shaping that which shall bear your impress forever. . ."

However, if upright examples and favorable opportunities failed, there was no hesitation about using more forceable methods to insure desirable behavior. Take, for instance, the case of Commonwealth v. S. M. Cook. The teacher, Cook, had beaten an insolent and disobedient boy, one Lewis Winchell, whose father entered charges of assault. The judge emphasized that the teacher, standing in loco parentis, had every power of correction in the school that the parent did in the home. The duty of both was to "maintain good government. . .and [illegible] members." Besides, the law explicitly sanctioned resort to corporal punishment, pointed out the magistrate, when physical force became necessary to maintain the teacher's authority and preserve the order of the school.

In fact, continued the judge, the law not only permitted but made corporal punishment an "imperative duty." The schoolmaster was liable only if he had acted from "vindictive feelings, or under violence of passion or malevolence." But this, clearly, had not been the case. "The boy, Lewis Winchell," noted the judge in language which might have been applied to a crime against the State as well as to an act against a teacher:

---

[41] Massachusetts Teacher, ix, 3, February 1856, pp. 105-107.

> assumed at the outset an attitude of defiance; and through the whole manifested a spirit of rebellion against the authority of the master, by open and violent acts of resistence, and the most insolent and profane language.

One duty of the school was to insure civil and social order at a time when both were increasingly in jeopardy. Schoolmen preferred inner controls, but when indulgent parents and a pernicious environment red unquenchable defiance, then the real fear of social chaos and the determination to insure order behind pedagogical theory came forth in an unflinching assertion of the combined power of the state and teacher over the individual child and his parent.[42]

Moral education was, really, a kind of intellectual totalitarianism. Relativism was inconceivable. Rather, the schools were to transmit, hopefully by example and experience, if not, by force, a predefined set of ideas, behaviors and standards. Moral education was based on the assumption of the rationality of man and the univers-. If children could only see the natural law, the divinity, behind appearance, they would understand and consent to the regulations of adult society. Nineteenth century Massachusetts schoolmen drew a sharp line between individualism and deviance. Individualism in the pursuit of the "good", in terms of both method and goal, was laudable; deviance in either respect was suspect and socially dangerous.

---

[42] The case is reported in *ibid.*, ii, 9, September 1840, pp. 257-262. On the nature of the moral lessons to be inculcated by schools see also: Elson, *op. cit.*, *passim.*, which reveals the similarity between the preaching of schoolmen and the content of textbooks.

The final ingredient in education should not be neglected. Horace Mann's many reports on improved methods of school construction stemmed from an enlightened appreciation of the importance of the physical. Interestingly, the arguments for the introduction of formal physical education into schools in this period became associated with schoolmen's perception of the consequences of urbanization. "Under the present conditions of city life at home and at school," wrote the Boston superintendent of schools in 1860, "a child stands a poor chance to enter upon the career of life having a good physical system, a body healthy, strong, well formed, and of good size," and he contrasted the success of the relatively uneducated country-boy in the "race of life" over his highly educated city-bred competitor.[43]

When schoolmen wrote of the unending nature of education and the intrinsic pleasures of learning, they came close to defining the goals of education in terms of the joy and delight it brought to the individual. But they always stopped short of this point and turned to extrinsic goals. In the last analysis, that is, their own perception of social need posed the schoolmen's objectives. Here, then, we see that education was an imposition in three senses. In the first place, as the previous part of this study has shown, educational reform was an imposition by the prominent upon the community. Second, the goals of that reform represented the imposition of upper and middle class fears and their perception of social deficiencies.

---

[43] Boston, . . .1859-1860, 1860, pp. 56-57.

Third, the content of a reformed education represented an imposition of the values of communal leaders upon the rest of society. There was little of the humanitarian in educational reform; it was mainly indoctrination, an attempt by promoters to re-make the rest of mankind in their own image. It would be wrong, however, to criticize reformers for not accepting now current notions of cultural relativity, for this is a modern concept. Reformers did not share our own haunting doubts about forcing middle class values on the working class; they were confident that their own values were right.

III. "a new motive to moral excellence" vs. "emulation"

Schoolmen agreed on the overall nature of the educational process; they even agreed on the ends of schooling. On the matter of means, however, there was disagreement. No one dissented from the glorification of hard work and the repudiation of softness; but a debate emerged on methodology and curriculum. Ranged on one side were educators who advocated educational innovations termed soft and debilitating by their opponents. The soft-line educators, as the innovators will be termed, accused the proponents of the hard-line, as their antagonists will be called, of catering to the very motives that had hastened the decay of society. In both cases, charges were leveled at the social implications of motivational techniques; in both cases those implications were thought to hasten the further disintegration of public and private morality.

Rote recitation based on the diligent adherence to a textbook, claimed a writer, gives "the scholar a distaste for the study." Instead, he claimed, "the child should be interested in what he studies."[44] Likewise, in answer to the all important question, "How shall the teacher form in his scholars, habits of industry and perseverance?" another commentator replied, "by exciting their curiosity."[45] Here was the essence of the ideology of the soft-line educators; they would reform instruction to accord with interests of pupils; they would develop in students the necessary intrinsic self controls through leading them to internalize a love for knowledge. Thus, according to one description, the model teacher:

> should connect with his instructions, as far as possible, what is interesting and attractive; so that the associations, formed in the minds of his pupils, will leave them in love with the subject of investigation, and, in proper time, bring them back to the pursuit with readiness and alacrity.[46]

But, interest was not to be equated with ease; there was here a fine distinction, and the teacher "should be careful, that awakened curiosity be not gratified too soon, by unnecessary and superabundant aid, leaving no motive and no opportunity for effort, on the part of his pupils." On the other hand, interest should not be allowed to suffocate beneath a cloak of "appalling difficulties." Ideal teaching, then, was to strike a balance. The teacher "should intermingle with text-book instruction a due proportion of familiar lecturing; enough of the one with the other to guard against the pernicious effects of excess in either." "The pupil," concluded the author, "must be made to work; but he must work voluntarily, cheerfully, with hope."[47]

---

[44] Common School Journal, ii, 4, February 15, 1840, p. 63.

[45] Massachusetts Teacher, i, 9, May 1, 1848, p. 135.

[46] Ibid., i, 1, January 1, 1848, p. 7.

"The matter of object teaching," reported a pleased writer in 1860, "is rapidly growing in favor with leading educators. . ." Object teaching was a favorite innovation among the soft-line educators. In childhood, knowledge, they claimed, is acquired "through the senses," and to disregard the senses, therefore, "is to violate the first principles of correct teaching." With both children and adults, moreover, comprehension and appeal are usually correlated, and "the study of objects under a skillful teacher, is sure to secure the attention and interest of the child."[48] Object teaching, then, was a desirable innovation because it met the new criterion of appealing to children.[49]

Schooling, some writers advanced, should be concerned with the real world; and proponents of this point of view were definitely in the camp of the soft-line educators. The arguments for curriculum reform were concerned with two issues: one was the introduction of drawing and bookkeeping, second was a lessened emphasis upon the classics and a correspondingly greater increase on the sciences. The connection between curriculum innovation and the soft-line educators was recognized, according to one writer, by the response to attempts to introduce drawing into the schools. The attempts, he wrote, had been "pretty generally. . .condemned, as the idle and unprofitable resort of those who are prone to make caricatures of visible objects, rather than puzzle their heads with close application and hard study."[50]

---

[47] Loc. cit.

[48] Massachusetts Teacher, xiii, 11, November 1860, p. 416.

[49] For a discussion of object teaching see: Charles J. Brauner, American Educational Theory, Englewood Cliffs, 1960, pp. 36-48.

The advocate of drawing, however, dismissed the implication that he was equating interest and ease, and, thereby, violating the dogma of the virtues of effort. Instead, he attempted to demonstrate the practical utility of drawing to engineers, professionals, architects, machinists and mechanics; "in a pecuniary point of view," he concluded, "skill in drawing must prove highly beneficial to almost every class of the community." No educator, of course, could justify a subject on merely utilitarian, especially fiscal, grounds, since the acceptance of the financial criterion as sole arbiter of the content of the curriculum would represent a capitulation to the worst qualities of the times, indeed, a reinforcement of the very tendencies that schools were to offset. Thus,

> independently of its utility as contributing to success in business, its refining and elevating effect is by no means unimportant. He who has learned to depict the beauties of nature and art, more highly appreciates, and more keenly relishes those

---

[50] Massachusetts Teacher, 1, 8, April 15, 1848, pp. 113-115.

> beauties; and hence has within himself an additional source of innocent enjoyment, and a new motive to moral excellence.[51]

Drawing facilitated the substitution of pleasures; sublimation and business success united conveniently in a particular curriculum reform.

An even stronger statement was provided by an advocate of bookkeeping, who contended "that much of our instruction is unpractical; it does not assimilate easily with the wants of future life." To "render education practical. . .to select practical studies; and not only that, but to" give "them all a practical turn" was his goal. The failure of students to acquire an acquaintance with the practical branches of mathematics, argued the writer, caused considerable inconvenience, and, he continued, it was "far better" for students to learn relatively simple, but practical numerical operations in school than "amid the cares and necessities of business, when perhaps a 'firm' may be obliged to go into bankruptcy in consequence of a few luckless mistakes and omissions." Yet, even the extreme practicalist could not omit his obeisance to the sacred aspects of educational theory:

> such things are not to be learned at the expense of a sound and thorough discipline; by no means. That is the great end of all intellectual training. For this we must ever rely mainly upon the severer branches.[52]

---

[51] Loc. cit.

[52] Ibid., v, 6, June 1862, pp. 168-174.

Some advocates of innovation, however, argued that subjects other than the traditional "severer branches" combined mental discipline with other desirable qualities. An instance of this sort of argument was a speech of Thomas Sherwin, Principal of Boston English High School, in an 1856 debate concerning "The Relative Importance of Ancient Classical and of Scientific Studies in an American System of Education." Sherwin commenced by admitting that classical study had many benefits. His criterion, he somewhat disarmingly admitted, was utilitarianism, according to his own definition. Utilitarianism, or usefulness, "in its largest and best sense," was, he claimed, "one great end and object of life, and he regarded him as the greatest man who contributes most to the physical, intellectual, and moral good of humanity." Here, Sherwin felt, the sciences were clearly superior to the classics, and, as evidence, he cited social and industrial improvements made possible by advances in pure and applied science. Not content to rest his case on utilitarianism, Sherwin turned to the traditional defense of the classicists and asserted, "As a mental discipline, the study of science may boldly challenge comparison with that of the classics." And he meant the applied as well as the pure sciences.[53]

Finally, Sherwin revealed his real affinity with the soft-line educators. "The interest which it awakens," he claimed, "is another benefit of the study of the sciences." He knew many boys, who,

---

[53] _Ibid_., ix, 9. September 1856, pp. 398-403. For biographical information on Sherwin see: John D. Philbrick, "Thomas Sherwin," _Education_, i, 4, March, 1881, pp. 388-392.

"disgusted with the dry details of Latin and Greek Grammar," had become disciplinary problems in school; but when these same boys were introduced to science, "they had no time for mischief." The interest aroused by science teaching was an intensified form of that aroused by object teaching, since "new truths" were "constantly presenting themselves and the pathway of the learner" was "strewn with objects, each of which invites and fixes his attention." The arousal interest, admitted Sherwin, is not always a measure of worthiness; "yet when the highest degree of utility and the loftiest mental efforts present also a strong attraction to the learner, this attraction is a recommendation." To clinch his argument Sherwin contended, "Except to a few peculiarly constituted minds" it is doubtful if the appeal of the classics can ever equal the attraction of the sciences. In other words, the sciences, at the least, were not inferior to the classics in terms of either discipline or utility; thus, all things being equal, it was legitimate to employ interest as the criterion for judging between the relative merits of the two. This criterion accepted, the sciences clearly won the dominant place in the curriculum.[54]

Advocates of pedagogical reform gradually succeeded in spreading their notions to the schools. School reports, especially in the sixties, reveal that innovations were entering the schools, that in some instances the process of education was changing. In

---

[54] _Loc. cit._

Lawrence, as we have seen, object teaching, physical instruction and music entered the curriculum. In Beverly the same three innovations were all initiated and sponsored by the school committee. Even the high school curriculum was liberalized in a way that would have made Sherwin happy. Latin became optional and bookkeeping, botany, geology and chemistry entered the curriculum as electives. The ideal of their schools, claimed the committee, was a sound mind in a sound body.[55]

Another important educational issue was reflected in Beverly. On March 26, 1827, the grammar school master in the Grammar District, Rufus Putnam, *Jr.*, advised the school committee of his dissatisfaction with a system of school "government" which offered as inducements "to a proper. . .effort, and to close application" only "the hope of distinction in school, or the fear of censure and punishment." The attainment of eminence in the future, moreover, hardly moved young scholars, who cared only for "some immediate, or not very distant reward." The problems with punishment were twofold: it had a tendency "to cramp the mental energies and prevent the faculties from exerting their whole strength in a proper manner," and, second, it could control only a few pupils at any one time. What was needed, claimed Putnam, was a system of school management avoiding corporal punishment and offering immediate rewards. To meet the criteria Putnam recommended the appropriation of a small sum of money to be divided weekly among students, according to a system of merits and demerits.[56]

---

[55] See Beverly. . .1863-64, 1864, pp. 6-8 on the virtues and in o- duction of physical education; 1864-65 pp. 6-7 on object teaching; and 1865-66 p. 7, on music. These passages clearly show that the i as advocated on the state level had finally seeped down to Beverly.

Although no record exists, it is doubtful that Putnam's suggestion was adopted, because one of the leading school committeemen was William Thorndike, a wealthy merchant who advocated a theory of motivation very different and more in line with the contentions of soft-line educators throughout the state. Thorndike, too, looked to a system of school government avoiding physical punishment and providing immediate gratifications. But he argued that the praise and affection of the teacher were, themselves, rewards of the highest order as were the internal pleasures that came from both learning and a job well done. In fact, according to one town historian, Thorndike's influence was instrumental in persuading the town schools to discard emulation, which previously had been used as the principle of motivation. In a report on discipline Thorndike stressed that his goal was:

> to secure the attention of the scholars to the duties required of them, by engaging their affections, and offering as a reward for faithfulness, not the record of their good deeds, or the tempting allurements of gifts, but the smiles of a kind and endeared instructor, and the satisfaction of an approving conscience,--feeling anxious that proper motives should stimulate the mind and swell the heart, than those which proceed

---

[56] Letter from Rufus Putnam to Beverly School Committee, March 26, 1827, manuscript, Rantoul papers, Beverly Historical Society.

> from the promise of pecuniary rewards, or the display of acquisitions, the only value of which is their secret influence, and the tone they give to character and principle.[57]

Thorndike was echoing the contentions of the soft-line educators who attacked currently practiced techniques of motivation. Like Thorndike, the soft-line educators directed part of their assault at the appeal to emulation as a motive for learning. An example is one educator's criticism of the practice of the Boston grammar schools, which awarded medals and premiums to the most successful scholars. Awarding premiums for achievement, wrote this schoolman, was pernicious; students "with a premium before their eyes" were "tempted to study for. . .*effect*. . .rather than for a deep, thorough acquaintance with the subject; to *appear* well, rather than to *do* well." Premiums, continued the author, provided an "artificial stimulus" which reinforced the very social tendencies which schools existed to eradicate. His "chief objection" to premiums, emphasized the writer, was that they fostered "emulation" and tended "powerfully to excite and foster a class of passions and feelings which are already. . .too active, and are producing much unhappiness in the world." Emulation, in short, was:

---

[57] Quoted in Edwin Stone, *A History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from its Settlement in 1630 to 1842*, Boston, 1843, pp. 150-154. There is no evidence of a direct confrontation of Stone and Putnam, but given the divergence in their views and their activity in the same period, it is not unlikely that the issue of emulation was discussed by the school committee. There is, likewise, no evidence to support or contradict Stone's assertion that the schools discarded emulation. By this he may have meant that teachers ceased to give tangible rewards for good behavior and outstanding achievement.

> the commencement of that competition,--that perpetual scrambling for the loaves and fishes,--that feverish aspiration for office and place,--which we see in after-life going on all around us, and which makes the eye of enligthened humanity weep.

Emulation, moreover, was, according to definition, "'a desire to excel for the *sake of the gratification of being superior to others*.'" In this sense, emulation reinforced the shallow, materialistic and ostentatious aspects of society; it prevented the schools from instilling within students an intrinsic set of controls and standards. At the same time, it appealed to the desire for gratification, and gratification is a passion. Thus, in reinforcing a passion, that is, the sensual, emulation counteracted the school's attempts to substitute non-sensual for physical pleasures; it defeated the work of sublimation, which schoolmen strove to foster. "Let us," concluded the writer, "at an early period, begin to treat children as intellectual and moral beings, susceptible of influence to considerations of a pure and noble nature."[58] If man could only be touched through emulation, then he was, in reality, no better than an animal. If man could only be touched through emulation, then the whole carefully constructed rationale for his own existence would tumble down about the teacher's head, and teachers, it will be pointed out shortly, had more than an intellectual stake in the ideology of educational reform.

Who, then, supported emulation? Who were the hard-line educators? The answer is not entirely clear, but various sources connect opposition to object teaching, curriculum reform and other innovations with sectarian opposition to the Board of Education and its secretaries. In 1844, in fact, opposition came to a head when thirty-one grammar school masters of Boston violently attacked the seventh annual report of Horace Mann. In this struggle, at least, the lines were clearly drawn; and the hard-soft dimension became the focus of the controversy. To the grammar school masters Horace Mann and his supporters were dangerous radicals, whose attempted innovations were directed, consciously or otherwise, at undermining social and familial stability as well as further unravelling the moral fibre of Massachusetts children.

---

[58] *Common School Journal*, xv, August 1, 1844, pp. 242-243.

"The object of the elementary instruction of our public schools. . . is, not alone to impart a certain amount of knowledge," claimed the grammar school masters, "but to give training. . .to discipline and strengthen their minds, and prepare them, as far as is possible for that independent action, which will be required of them in the discharge of the duties of life." The grammar school masters, that is, also wanted an essentially strong citizenry guided by intrinsic standards. Their enemy, in the attainment of their objective, was, they asserted, Horace Mann and his innovating followers. The masters centered their attack on Mann's appeal to the interest of the learner as a motivational technique. One critique of reliance on this sort of motivation was connected with the masters' objections to object-teaching. Mann had stressed, in his seventh report, the virtues of object-teaching as practiced in Prussian schools. The masters replied:

> That the method pursued by the Prussian instructor, is calculated to interest the mind of the pupil, we would not deny; for the variety of information and illustration must, without fail, gratify his curiosity, and for the time arrest his attention; but it will in no degree induce that habit of patient and constant attention to a subject, to which we have before alluded. On the other hand, the variety of information presented, and the novelty of illustration, would tend rather to dissipate, than to strengthen the habit of calm and deliberate attention to a single subject. And the mind of the pupil, instead of forming the habit of independent and individual effort. . .would become accustomed to act only through the force of that excitement which is supplied by the teacher.

The essence of the masters' criticism was that the pupils became dependent upon an outside stimulus; they became "accustomed to depend, for their motive to mental effort, upon that excitement alone which is furnished by their teacher." Object teaching fostered an accentuation of child-like dependency and its corollary, the lack of internalized motivation. Both of these were conditions that the school, to both hard and soft-line educators, was to overcome. The appeal to interest, expressed in object teaching, had disastrous social implications:

> And we most earnestly pray that our country,--whose citizens are already, to a great extent, destitute of habits of independent thought and deliberate action, and too much accustomed to think and act through the forced excitement of motives that may be, and often are, supplied by wicked and designing men,--may be kept forever safe from a system of public instruction which we think calculated to augment so great an evil.[59]

---

[59] (Boston, Association of Masters of the Public Schools) Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Honorable Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Boston, 1844, pp. 45-47. The Masters were firm in their rejection of basing motivation on the interest of the child. "Nothing," they declared, had yielded more "mischief," and had been more "subversive of real happiness, than mistaking what may afford the child present gratification, for that which secures for him lasting good." This had been precisely the mistake of Horace Mann, who would "have the teacher first amuse the child, so as to gain his good-will at any expense, and would,

The masters also attacked other educational innovations: the Normal Schools; the method of teaching reading now known as "look-say"; the criticism of corporal punishment and the disparagement of emulation. In their attack on the denigrators of emulation the real concerns of the masters began to emerge. Emulation was an important point because it was related to the problem of authority, perhaps the issue at the heart of the masters' worries. The masters considered themselves realists in contrast to the soft-line educators; and they urged the "great importance" of "taking human nature as it really exists." Their view of human nature was essentially Calvinistic. The Emersonian emphasis on the inherent goodness of man, which the masters rightly claimed was reflected in the theories of Mann and his followers, was, to these experienced schoolmen, a naive example of wishful thinking. Perhaps unfortunately, but, nevertheless, undeniably, emulation was a basic human instinct. Therefore, a judicious appeal to emulation was a necessary component of educational practice, since teachers had to take into account all of man's motives and instincts. "Since nature has

---

then, have him attend to duty as a secondary matter." Mann's course of assigning priority to the pleasure of the child threatened "the welfare, both of the individual and society, by sending forth a sickly race, palsied in every limb, through idleness, and to gratify a morbid thirst for pleasure." As for Mann's attempts to encourage the teaching of reading through what has become known as the "look-say" method, it was an instance of his whole approach, "a misguided effort to make that pleasant, which, to some extent at least, must be disagreeable; to make that easy, which, from the nature of the case, is beset with unavoidable difficulties." Ibid., pp. 84-87.

admitted its existence," wrote the Reverend Leonard Withington oi emulation, in a passage approvingly quoted by the masters, "we ar to allow it. . . .Within bounds. . .emulation may fire the genius. .without inflaming the passions or corrupting the heart."[60] With few statements could the soft-line educators disagree more.

The errors of the soft-line educators, claimed the masters, ed them not only to overlook a basic facet of human nature but also o neglect the very foundations of school discipline. "But upon wha shall school discipline be based?" asked the masters. "We answer unhe itatingly, upon authority as a starting-point."[61] It is scarcely too much t say that nothing was more important for the masters than submission t authority, and their protestations concerning the necessity of au hority indicate their sense of the fundamental alteration occuring thin the power structure of society. The masters reminded their reade s that even in a democracy authority was necessary, "He who would commar even, must first learn to obey." Indeed, when authority was the issue, the masters were unequivocal that:

> implicit obedience to rightful authority must be inculcated nd enforced upon children as the very germ of all good order ir future society, no one, who thinks soundly and follows out principles to their necessary results, will presume to deny. Yet, it is quite offensive now-a-days to ears polite, to tal of authority, and command, and injunction. We must persuade, d invite, and win. Respect for law is hardly sufficient to i ure

---

[60] Ibid., pp.126-127.

[61] Loc.cit.

> the infliction of its severe penalties. Thus the restraining influence of fear is ineffectual where most needed. Penalties, being too much dreaded by the innocent, are, for that very reason, too little dreaded by the guilty; who soon learn to avail themselves of the protecting shield that overstrained mercy casts before them.

The age was soft; it was an age, "remarkable for the ascendancy of sympathy over the sterner virtues. Kindness, powerful, overwhelming in its proper sphere, has assumed a false position." Nevertheless, reminded the masters sternly, kindness was secondary; "Kindness cannot supply the place of authority, nor gratitude that of submission."[62] The masters, in fact, were caught in a contradiction. They called, on the one hand, for individuals with internalized standards; persons whose actions adhered to an inner sense of right, not the dictates of society. Yet, on the other hand, they emphasized authority, and preached obedience to an external authority; it was, moreover, an unquestioning obedience for which they asked. From whatever portion of the "great chain" of authority emanated a command, the "bounden duty of all" was not to "demand to know the reason of the command, as a necessary condition of obedience, but simply" to ask "if it be really the voice of rightful authority that speaks." Likewise, claimed the masters, "True obedience is a hearty response to acknowledged authority. It does not voluntarily comply with a request, but implicitly yields to a command."[63] The ideal of the masters was not the society that was emerging; but an older, perhaps idealized order, in which roles and relationships were fixed; in which the "great chain" of authority was well-defined.

---

[62] Loc. cit.

[63] Ibid., pp.128-129.

On the basis of their assumption of the importance of authority, the masters had due cause for worry. "Authority. . .is clearly the starting-point of all government; the corner-stone of all order. Remove it, and the reign of anarchy and chaos instantly succeeds." And to remove it is, precisely, what Horace Mann and his associates were trying to accomplish. The person who permitted any deviation from "docility" or "obedience" was a "disorganizer. . .weakening and dissolving the primal bond of civil society; and sapping the foundations of social order."[64] And this is what the theories of Mann intended; these theories claimed to follow nature, but their romanticized view really meant capitualtion to "mere inclination," and children were taught:

> to lean upon the experience of others, to notice merely the superficial relations of things, and to trust for knowledge to the easy process of cursory observation. Now this propensity to observe without analysis, nature provides for without any aritificial aid. Indeed, it predominates in children and savages.[65]

And is this where Massachusetts was heading? Toward a society of children and savages?

---

[64] (Boston, Association of Masters of the Public Schools) Rejoinder to the "Reply" of the Hon. Horace Mann. . .to the "Remarks" of the Association of Boston Masters. . . .,Boston,1845, fourth part(Joseph Hale), p.60.

[65] Remarks. . .,p.134.

"Education," claimed the Reverend Leonard Withington, a supporter of the Masters, "has often been tampered with by vain theorists." Indeed, a strong, explicit dislike of theory permeates the diabtribes of the Masters; in their elevation of tradition and common sense and in their opposition to rationality and theory the Masters revealed their almost classic, Burkean conservatism. Withington, for instance, asserted, "Our conviction is that education has "much more to hope from the collected wisdom and common prudence of the community, than from the suggestions of the individual," and he proceeded to attack Locke, Milton and Rousseau.[66]

To the masters, and other hard-line educators, Horace Mann and his followers were dangerous radicals. Radical was, to them, a pejorative term of the utmost power. Thus, in a discussion of Mann's advocacy of Normal Schools and of his theories in general, the Masters' asserted with condemnation, "It is hard to conceive of any thing more *radical* and less *conservative* than such views."[67] Horace Mann and his cohorts had broken with the past; and their break, felt the Masters, threatened the future of society.

The advocates of educational reform, associated with the advocates of social reform in general, threatened more than the future of society.

---

[66] Leonard Withington, *Penitential Tears; or a Cry from the Dust by "The Thirty-one," Prostrated and Pulverized by the Hand of Horace Mann, Secretary,&c.*, Boston, 1845, p.56.

[67] *Remarks. . . .*,p.13.

They threatened the grammar school masters themselves. Pleas for educational reform implied that the grammar school masters were using cruel and obsolete methods and were, really, unfit for their jobs. At least this is how the Mastersperceived the appeals for innovation. The grammar school masters were career, not itinerant, teachers; they were proud of their work and felt that they were the representatives of an honorable educational tradition within the city. Yet, "The public mind," complained the masters, "has been so far poisoned, that great distrust is felt in all teachers of the old school."[68] And to them, the old school, which they represented, was the good school. Even worse, Mann's seventh report, to the schoolmasters the most objectionable of the generally pernicious educational tracts of the times, would be widely circulated both within America and in foreign countries. People resident outside the state would assume that Mann's disparaging remarks concerning Massachusetts teachers applied specifically to Boston, since Mann had an office in Boston and since Boston and the state were often equated in the eyes of outsiders. "Who, at home or abroad," complained the aggrieved Masters,"will not think of the metropolis, when they read the secretary's reflections upon the teachers and the schools of Massachusetts?"[69]

The attack of the Masters was, really, the culmination of three types of assaults on educational innovation. One was the assault on the motivational techniques of the reformers, already described. The second was the assault on the secular nature of Massachusetts education under its more recent legislation. The Masters themselves referred to Mann as sacrilegious but Withington made the explicit connection between the modern softness in teaching methods and a pernicious, new softness in school religion. "Children," he complained, "were to be led along by the cords of love." A "general Christianity," was to be taught, one "so weakened and diluted that infidels might believe, and sensualists applaud it." Part of the authority that modern education was challenging was that of religion.[71] The harangue of Withington, moreover, provides a link with a third kind of attack on educational innovation: the attack on centralization. Four years earlier a committee of the Massachusetts legislature had reported in favor of abolishing the Board of Education and the Normal Schools. Withington referred glowingly to the committee and urged legislators to re-read its report.[72]

---

[68] Ibid., p.17.

[69] Ibid., p.29.

The Board of Education, according to the committee's report, was founded as an instrument of recommendation only but had become an organ of regulation. The Board made recommendations which were virtually rubberstamped by the Legislature.[73] Even if the Board had been adhering to its statutory functions, the authors of the report would still have opposed it since they argued that, in any case, voluntary teachers' associations were the best sources of information and recommendation.[74] Unhampered, inter-association rivalry would produce and promote most effectively pedagogical advance. However, these associations, which had done an outstanding job before the creation of the Board, were declining. Who, for instance, could speak freely at a convention called by a governmental agency?[75]

---

[71] For a discussion of religious controversy see, Raymond Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools, New Haven, 1929.

[72] Withington, op. cit., p.51. Massachusetts House Documents 49, 1840, "The Expediency of Abolishing the Board of Education and the Normal Schools," Allen Dodge, chairman.

At any rate, the progress achieved in professions not under govermmental control demonstrated that it was wisest to leave innovation to "private industry and free competition. . . ." The regulation and dissemination of pedagogical ideas was not, however, the worst sin of the Board, for the Board, most dangerously of all, was trying to remodel Massachusetts education on French and Prussian lines, and both were highly centralized systems. Centralization, according to the authors of the report, would destroy the distinctive virtues of Massachusetts. They cited De Tocqueville as the source of their observation that New England had derived great strength from its system of local self-government and that the absence of public spirit was, in Europe, "the greatest obstacle in the way of public improvements."[76] Thus, to the committee the Board represented "the commencement of a system of centralization. . .contrary, in every respect, to the true spirit of our democratic institutions.[78] To the authors of the report the demands for statistics, the Normal Schools and the creation of school libraries were the Board's primary agents of tyranny.[79]

---

[74] Ibid., p.4.

[75] Ibid., p.5.

[76] Loc.cit.

The report, therefore, recommended the abolition of the Board of Education and the normal schools which departed from precedent by taking education out of the hands "to which our ancestors wisely entrusted it." The Board was attempting "to form all our schools and all our teachers on one model," and such an attempt, the authors conconcluded, "would destroy all competition - all emulation, and even the spirit of improvement itself."[80]

---

[78] Ibid., p.6.

[79] Ibid., pp.7-11.

[80] Ibid., p.12. In 1860 there was another proposal to abolish the Board of Edu cation. This time the committee investigating the matter reported in favor of retention.(House Document 127,1860) In order to demonstrate the nature of the opposition to the Board, the committee printed a few of the petitions it had received. These spoke louder than any arguments, for, by 1860, opposition to the Board had sunk to a bumbling semi-literacy as the following passage(mis-spellings and grammatical errors reproduced) makes clear. From pp.4-5:

> All parties want to see education thrive in massachus what will become of those orphans such as our Honorable secretary pict up down to Salem without something bearing resemblance to what I have been saying, why not take care of these things by the school districts it is much ceaper. . . .it seems to me this will raise the lower end and bring them all into a solid phalanks to march onword and upword to gether and not have them scattered from dan to basheba. it seems to me this will not only be the best way but

In all three types of complaints - instructional innovation, secularization and centralization - the reformers were perceived as radicals, altering the tried and true, the source of stability, strength and virtue. The opponents of the Board, its secretaries and its ideas wanted to turn back the direction of development and return to a simpler, static society, a society in which the sources of authority were clear, a society in which the schoolmaster and the clergyman were important and in which decisions could be made, as they had always been, by the townspeople mutually associated and free from the pressure of a state government presiding over and fostering the creation of an urban-industrial society.

In spite of their denigration of the altered social and economic characteristics of Massachusetts, the soft-line educators were more in tune with their society. Their emphasis on teaching through an appeal to interest was, implicitly, an assertion of the importance of the individual. They recognized the irrelevance of old sources of authority in a society of altered roles and relations. What would be the point of teaching obedience to external authority, if external authority could not be located? Yet, the innovators believed that the complete absence

---

but the ceapest way, for I know something about the value of money as means to ends and this is another reason why I ask you to divide the Fund (and he further demanded) the abolition of the Board of Education, who are prodigating the people's money and sticking their hands into the money up to their elbows. till their eyes stick out with fat; (he demanded it) in the name of the Great Jehova and the Continental Congress, who for their bessed deeds. . .have been judged worthy to enter their fathers house not made with hands and eternal in the heavens and that to day are ranging those bright elysium fields that sourroun their fathers mansion.

of any authority over actions would lead to chaos and only intensify the socially disintegrating tendencies, about which they worried quite as much as their antagonists. Thus, the soft-line educators sought to internalize the source of authority; to create individuals who could steer their own way in an industrializing, urbanizing society, but who would steer with propriety, decency and compassion. The soft-line educators claimed they were concerned with the higher, spiritual aspects of life; nevertheless, they stressed the very qualities most necessary for social mobility and economic success. Their ideal product would be superbly equipped to enter the competitive arena of Massachusetts business life. He would possess all the qualifications necessary to continue the development of urbanism and industrialism, all the qualities necessary to foster those aspects of society which had a pernicious effect on personality, and through personality on the life of the Commonwealth.

The significance of the hard line is three-fold. In the first place, the battle was a manifestation in the educational arena of a conflict in other areas of reform, a conflict in other states as well as in Massachusetts. In the 1840's, especially, prison reformers advocating an environmental theory of crime and a penal system based on kindness and an effort to rehabilitate fought against experienced wardens of prisons who, pessimistic about the possibilities of rehabilitation, argued for a harsh system of punishment and an effort to break a man's will and produce repentance.[81] Similarly, one historian has claimed, "We may summarize the debate over capital punishment as a struggle between reformers who emphasized the effect of environment on moral behavior, arguing that criminals should be cured instead of being punished and traditionalists who finally abandoned the rationalistic theory of deterrence and fell back upon a doctrine of intrinsic and absolute justice."[82] Other reformers struggled against what they considered harsh and obsolete methods of treating the insane, and psychiatrists lamented general practitioners who rejected theories, continued to try to cure mental disease through physical means such as bloodletting, and who almost totally refused to testify that any criminals were insane.[83] The process of creating new institutions, or reforming old ones, to cope with mounting social problems was characteristic of the 1840's. This process generated a fundamental debate over, essentially, the nature of man. Arrayed on one side, often,were theorists representing an environmentalist, optimistic viewpoint. On the other side were practitioners, reflecting a more Calvinistic, pessimistic and conservative approach to problems such as crime, insanity and education.

---

[81] W.David Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848*, Ithaca, 1965, p.201.

[82] David Brion Davis, *Homicide in American Fiction, 1798-1865: A Study in Social Values*, Ithaca, 1957, p.299.

[83] Norman Dain, *Concepts of Insanity in the United States,1789-1865*, New Brunswick, 1965, pp.148-164.

In Massachusetts the soft-line clearly won, and herein lies the other two aspects of its significance. In the material consulted for this study no other significant outburst of the hard-line appeared. The victory of the soft-line marked the ending of serious educational debate. Aside from its virtues or failings, the vigorous articulation of the hard-line had fostered a healthy situation. From the conflicting viewpoints might have arisen a genuine and constructive dialogue that would have forced educational promoters to face the contradictions in their own ideology and to examine, refine and improve their theories. A continuing debate between socially respected opponents might have forced educators to continually confront their ideas critically; it might have prevented the onset of the complacency that helped make educational thought increasingly sterile, unreal and routine. The victory of the soft-line was a major defeat for the quality of American education.

But why did the soft-line diffuse throughout school reports and teachers' journals to become elevated to the status of ideology? One reason was the political power that Mann and his supporters wielded during and after the controversy. It is the consequence of this almost brutal exercise of power that marks the third way in which the controversy between Mann and the Masters was significant. One political tactic was for Mann's friends to immediately petition the legislature to establish a new normal school. The bill they sponsored was successful, and in this respect Mann and his followers proved their power to further their favorite innovation in spite of widespread public criticism. In the state legislature it was clear on whose side power lay.

The other ploy was the concerted attempt by Mann's friends, rticularly Charles Sumner and Samuel Gridley Howe, to spearhead a takover of the Boston school committee. "Once in office," writes one hisrian, "they would have the whip hand over the masters and could put thrgh a 'purgation' of the personnel of one school, replacing them by proessives who could then run it as a model that would effect a revoluon in education." The school committee could have a whip hand over e Masters because teachers did not have tenure and, annually, were ted upon by the committee. Through active political maneuvering Sumne and Howe receivednominations by the Whig party as two of their candides for the school board, and Howe was elected. Although the reforme were not a majority, their impact was strong. Two of them, incluing Howe, managed to get themselves appointed to examine the grammar schools. Contrary to custom they gave written examinations with questions previously unknown to the teachers. On the basis of thee examinations they published a scathing indictment of the Boston grmmar schools in their annual report. They tried hard to prevent the rehiring of some of the offending Masters, and they obviously made life uncomfortable and insecure for a number of them. Indeed, although te most offensive Master was not fired, he was transferred (temporariy as it turned out) to another school. There were even reports that corporal punishment was dropped in Boston; and other reforms were started. The most important was the consolidation of the administative system by eliminating the separate, unwieldy primary school board, followed by the appointment, in a few years, of a city superintendent of schools, one of the reformers' primary goals. Administrative changes in general enhanced and tightened central supervision at the expense of the virtual autonomy the Masters had previously enjoyed.[84]

It is hard to imagine that corporal punishment really left the schools, or that the Masters changed their minds on the topics of controversy. Yet it is important to remember that it had been demonstrated how unwise it was to oppose the reformers, how brutal and vindictive they could be, how they could heap public scorn on anyone who fought them. For a schoolmaster to resurrect the hard line would be to commit professional suicide. But teachers were not about to do this, and those teachers who wrote in the 1850's found different tactics for increasing the respect of the community for the work of the educator.

---

[84] The discussion of the political finale of the Mann-Masters controversy is taken largely from Harold Schwartz's excellent book, *Samuel Gridley Howe, Social Reformer, 1801-1876*, Cambridge, 1956, pp.120-136. On the primary school board see also, Mary Ann Connolly, "The Boston Schools in the New Republic, 1776-1840," unpublished Ed.D. thesis, Harvard, 1963. Unfortunately, this thesis ends just when events in Boston become most exciting and interesting. See also, Joseph Whightman, *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee, from its First Establishment in 1818, to its Dissolution in 1855*, Boston, 1860.

Epilogue: "God's Gardener," Strategies of Teacher Mobility

"It is not easy to account for the fact," complained a writer in the Massachusetts Teacher, "that the calling of a teacher is generally ranked, not only below the other professions, but even below some of the more common industrial pursuits."[85] Easy to account for the fact or not, no one dissented from the conclusion that the social status of teachers was dreadfully low. If money had become the measure of all things, as social critics maintained, then the rank of teachers was no mystery;teachers were paid very poorly.

In 1843, "in one of the most cultivated towns in the Commonwealth," the author of an article in the Common School Journal had set out to determine "the wages of journeymen, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, carriage-makers, wheelwrights, harness-makers, cabinet and piano-forte makers, and some others." His conclusions were distressing; every trade received more, "some of them received fifty, and a few one hundred per cent. more than was paid to any of the teachers of the district schools of the town."[86] Similarly, nine years later, in 1852, the enlightened school committee of Cambridge complained:

> The largest salary paid to a public teacher in Cambridge is not equal to that of a confidential clerk in a commercial establishment; it is about half as large as the salary of the Cashier in a Boston Bank; while the lowest salaries paid in the Alphabet and Primary

---

[85] Massachusetts Teacher, vi, 4, April 1853, p. 109.

[86] Common School Journal, v, 13, December 1, 1843, p.355.

> Schools are less than the wages of a good cook, and not more than as much as can be earned by a tolerable needle-woman. A fashionable music teacher or dancing master easily makes an income superior to the combined salaries of all the teachers in the Cambridge High School together.[87]

There were, indeed, reasons of substance as well as pride for teachers to seek to raise their status and to educate the public concerning the importance of the common schools.

The teachers themselves consciously adopted strategies designed to raise their standing within the community. The improvement of status was the motive, for instance, behind the founding, in 1847, of the Massachusetts Teachers Association and the establishment of its journal, the Massachusetts Teacher, in the following year. The first issue of the journal explained that the people, in the present age of equality, were "fast taking the reins in their own hands," and were "driving on, by motive powers entirely their own, - Association and the Press." Although both association and the press had been used by religious and political groups with great success, educators still lagged behind the times in their failure to use the most modern means of mass influence. Concluded the article, "if we wish the teacher in Education to rank beside the teacher in Religion and Government, we must use the same means that they employ."[88]

---

[87] Cambridge. . .1851-52, 1852, p.6.

[88] Massachusetts Teacher,i,1, January 1, 1848, p.4.

One strategy for the improvement of teacher status was to remove the blame for educational failure from the school to the home. Articles in the Massachusetts Teacher reminded readers of the power of parents to increase the teacher's influence or, on the other hand, to undermine his efforts. For instance, some parents complained of the severity of school discipline, but, chided an article, all too often children learned disrespect for authority, especially for the school, at home. "If parents were sufficiently faithful in. . .home preparation, the necessity for stringent discipline would be greatly diminished, and the moral influence of the teacher. . .greatly enhanced.[89]

The editor of the Massachusetts Teacher commended the views of a speaker at a recent teachers' meeting to "the careful consideration of our readers." "Ought not teaching," asked the author of the commended article, "to be raising [sic] to the rank of a liberal profession, distinctly recognized as such?" To accomplish this end persons entering teaching from "caprice" or temporarily from financial motives should be barred in the future. Professionalization would be assured by "a high standard of preliminary requisition", "emoluments corresponding to its true dignity and value", and protection "from the intrusions of the incompetent and unskillful." The time had arrived for the employment and evaluation of teachers to be freed from "the verdict of men engaged in other occupations;" the teaching force h ad to secure

---

[89] Ibid.,i,18, September 15, 1848, p.277.

"its own professional faculty, or appropriate body, of whatever name, competent and empowered to grant professional certificates, licences or diplomas."[90] To the author, and apparently to many other teachers as well, the hallmark of a profession was control over entry. Through control over entry teachers hoped to become permanent, well qualified and prestigous professionals.

Teachers' recognition of the importance ofpermanency and qualification implied the necessity of special training. Thus, in contrast to the earlier response of the Boston schoolmasters, the Massachusetts Teachers Association in the 1850's allied itself with the normal schools and with educational innovation. One author of an article in the Massachusetts Teacher employed an analogy that would be used, in the future, with increasing frequency:

> The man who imagines himself a teacher, because he has seen others teach in a particular way, is just as much an empiric, as a pretender in medicine, who occasionally walks through the wards of a hospital.

Continued the writer, "The day for quack pedagogues is passed." Certainly, "no person" could "excel as an instructor, who" failed to "make some special preparation for his work, and acquaint himself with the philosophy of teaching, and the art of conducting and governing a school."[91] Theory and normal schools became allies of the teachers in their drive for status. They provided the mystery that would set teachers apart from the rest of mankind. Theory and special preparation contained the potential to make school teaching a profession.

---

[90] Ibid., ix,2, February, 1856, pp.58-60.

[91] Ibid., iv,2, February, 1851, p.37.

The denial of responsibility for failure; the desire to gain control over entry and the emphasis on proper preparation: all were important strategies of occupational mobility, but none were as dominant , or basic, as the continual repitition of the assertion of the absolute superiority of the teacher and his calling to all other men and jobs. Repeatedly, the Massachusetts Teacher printed articles concerned with the compensation of the teacher. What was this compensation? What could compensate for the absence of money and respect, the absence of any of the usual criteria of success in a materialistic society? Simply this: the teacher was above money. He served not the spirit of materialistic gain; he, in fact, it was who counteracted the sordid tendencies of his age; on his shoulders lay the burden of inculcating a respect for the spiritual in place of the sensual, of fostering the internalization of restraint, of preserving morality and social cohesion. In short, the teacher, God's emissary, was responsible for the future of the human race. An article in the Massachusetts Teacher exemplifies the elevation of the teacher and his location as a counterweight to the rest of society:

> An employment is elevated in dignity in proportion to the importance of its subject, or the materials with which it has to do. The magistrate, or the commander of an army, ranks above the herdsman, for the one governs brutes, the other, men. The makers of chronometers

> takes rank above the blacksmith, because he is employed with more costly and delicate materials. Upon this principle, the work of teaching, especially if we include in this term the work of the ministry, surpasses all other occupations in point of dignity. The farmer, the mechanic, the merchant, are employed with material and perishable things. The legal profession is busied with forms and precedents, and with crimes and penalties, and, with the exception of its pleading, it has but little to do directly with the mind. Medical skill is employed almost exclusively upon the outer man, the temporary habitation of the soul. But the subject the teacher's work is the mind, the masterpiece of the great Architect, delicate in structure, transcendent in value, immortal in destiny.[92]

Or, as exhorted a stanza from"God's Gardener," written, expressly for the Teacher, by a poet from Groton:

> Magnify your office, teacher!
>   Higher than the kings of earth; -
> Are you not the prophet, preacher,
>   To the future giving birth?[93]

Regardless of the opinion of the community, the teacher at least had the compensation of knowing that his was the most important office on earth.

Teachers took seriously the notion of their moral influence; to them an attack on the notion was a personal assault of the gravest danger. This was the threat that provoked the attack on Cyrus Peirce at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Instruction in 1853. In 1853 the Institute awarded the prize for its annual essay contest to Peirce for an essay entitled, "Crime, its Cause and Cure." On Wednesday, August 17, 1853, in the afternoon, Mr. Peirce read his essay before the assembled educators. The point of the essay, according to Peirce, was that secular instruction by itself was no guarantee against crime, and in his plea for increased moral instruction he pointed out that an increase in crime had accompanied the increase in the provision of formal education. In fact, he cited surveys which purported to show that convicts were often better educated "than the generality of their class."[94]

---

[92] Ibid., vi, 4, April 1853, pp.109-110.

[93] Ibid., x,6, June 1853, pp.261-263.

The educationists responded with fury. To them Mr. Peirce had not only denied the moral efficacy of the common schools but had implied that they contributed to crime. Mr. Bishop of Boston complained: "he felt called upon, as having spent his whole life in the Common School cause, to say that we ought not to be told that for thirty years we have been doing the public an injury, by a defective system of education. He denied it." Dr. Hooker of Hartford commented on Peirce's statistics; he had no evidence but declared, nonetheless, "There must be some mistake." Even Barnas Sears, renowned for his urbanity and conciliatory tact, "remonstrated against sending out such a prize essay as this. It was a libel upon the Common Schools of New England."[95]

The Institute never sent the essay before the public. The Institute voted to return the essay to its author but to allow him to keep the prize money.[96] The mild doubts and strictures of Peirce had threatened the very foundations upon which the educationists based their existence. With its most august solemnity the synod found him guilty of heresy. Facts were irrelevant; teachers knew they were above the rest of mankind; they knew that, in the last analysis, they alone were responsible for the future of civilization; whatever statistics might show, they knew they were succeeding. Else, how could they continue to live in penury and submit to the scorn of society? If their interpretation of Peirce's essay were correct, and if they accepted this interpretation as true, then, in forsaking business for teaching, in scorning the market place, teachers would be not saints but failures.

---

[94] Ibid., vi, 10, October 1853, pp.310-312.

[95] Ibid., vi, 10, October, 1853, pp.310-312.

Moreover, although teachers' salaries were low by comparison with other occupations, they had risen substantially in the years between 1840 and 1853. And the increase was a real one since the cost of living had remained relatively stable.[97] One conclusion that teachers could draw was that the public was buying the ideology of reform and slowly accepting the central role of the pedagogue in shaping the future of society. What would happen if Perice's notions became public? What would happen if teachers were exposed as impotent or hurtful? Surely there were reasons of financial as well as psychic substance for the Institute to turn its fury upon a former champion of its cause.

---

[96] Ibid., vi, 10, October 1853, pp.320-322.

[97] See tables in Appendix A.

The new urban pedagogy in which the teachers invested so heavily could not reach its goals. Within educational ideology contradictory perceptions of the new society were fused into a set of goals that were sometimes logically incompatible, nearly always implausible. To join the best of the past with the dynamism of the future, to permeate a landscape of cities and factories with the social and moral virtues of the countryside: this was more than education could do, more, probably, than any set of institutions could accomplish. At its core the ideology was soft, the threads that joined the dualistic goals of schoolmen were woven of the flimsiest logic. Schools were to unleash and contain the forces of industrialism, to push social attitudes into a shape that fit the mold of the future and the contours of the past, to send forth individuals supremely equipped to both resist the degenerating tendencies of modern life and to hasten their development. Throughout educational ideology ran deep fissures straining always to split into chasms; but schoolmen leaned ever more heavily upon their construct and refused to see its flaws.

Cyrus Peirce had been right. Despite the common school revival, crime had increased.[98] Educators' paranoic response, their categoric denial of what had really happened, set the tone for the future. Educators were developing their own world. They had associations and training schools to impart their own version of the truth. Soon teachers would win the certification laws that they asked for in the 1850's; teaching had acquired a core of career professionals - high school principals and administrators - that would expand in size until it controlled all aspects of local school affairs except for the committees themselves.[99] Soon teachers would have a machine so large that they would be able to talk only to each other. And this would become increasingly necessary. Because they built the rationale for their own existence and their increasing command of community resources upon an implausible ideology ever more divorced from reality, educators had to turn inward; they had to avoid a hard look at the world around the schools and at their own work; they had to retreat into an ideology that became a myth. By the 1850's educators had helped set the stage for the rigid, sterile bureaucracies that soon would operate most urban schools.

---

[98] For data on crime see Part Three of this study.

---

[99] The Massachusetts Teachers Association started in 1847, the National Teachers Association in 1857. The first meeting of the American Normal Schools Association was in 1859, the first meeting of the association of superintendents in 1865. See, Edgar B. Wesley, N.E.A. The First Hundred Years, The Building of a Profession, New York,1957, p.44; American Normal Schools: Their Theory, Their Workings and Their Results, as Embodied in the Proceedings of the American Normal School Association, Held at Trenton, New Jersey, August 19 and 20, 1859, New York,1860.

Part Three. COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND THE URBAN DELINQUENT
The State Reform School

Prologue: Reformers against the Reform School

The report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities for 1865 must have surprised many people. Samuel Gridley Howe and Frank Sanborn, prominent and eclectic social reformers, were attacking the state reform school. Their attack must have come as somewhat of a shock because seventeen years earlier the school had been started with the ardent support of the very reformist circles that Howe and Sanborn represented. The reform school to many was the epitome of scientific penology, a landmark in the progress of man's enlightened treatment of his fellows, a beacon radiating throughout the land the modern liberality of the Commonwealth. Why, then, did Howe and Sanborn heap blame upon this institution less than two decades after its founding? When we can answer this question, we will see much more clearly the fate of mid-nineteenth century reform.

One reason for including the reform school as part of a study of educational reform is that it provides clarification and assists in assessment. But there are other reasons equally important. Educators saw the reform school as part of the Commonwealth's system of education. The words reform and school, as we shall see, had very specific meanings and were chosen with care; most Massachusetts educators would probably have agreed with the authority who wrote in 1907 that reform schools represent "more fully the idea of state education than ... any other part of the educational system."[1] We are not looking at a penal institution but at an educational one. Themes that are muted and implied throughout most of the rest of the literature of educational reform are explicit in discussions related to the reform school. When Massachusetts reformers talked about the re-making of urban delinquents they took off their velvet gloves, and the fact that education was to be a key weapon in a battle against poverty, crime and vice became explicitly, even stridently, clear. By studying an institution, furthermore, we can see more clearly how assumptions about the powers of education fared when confronted with social reality. Finally, the reform school is important because it was the first form of state-wide compulsory education in the United States.

I. Delinquency and the Grading of Prisons

Educational reform was one aspect of a widespread effort of government, both state and local, and private philanthropy to create a network of institutions capable of coping with the onset of large scale manufacturing and increasing urbanism. Besides establishing the reform school, the State, between the 1830's and 1865, altered its poor laws and established State almshouses; it built hospitals for different classes of paupers and criminals; it passed labor laws; and, more dramatically, created a central agency whose duty was to coordinate the mid-nineteenth century war on poverty and crime.

---

1 [1] David Snedden quoted in Edward A. Krug, The Shaping of the American High School, New York, 1964, p. 265.

As a result of the recommendation of a legislative committee that in 1858 surveyed the public charitable institutions of the State, the legislature created the Board of State Charities in 1863. The new body was modelled on the Board of Education and had a permanent secretary and an appointed, rotating membership. Its duty was to investigate, publish its findings, and make recommendations to the legislature. The reports of its secretary provide a comprehensive view of the problem of crime and poverty in the Commonwealth and a shrewd assessment of the State's institutions.[2] The first secretary, whose initial five hundred page historical and analytical report was for the times a truly remarkable social investigation, was Frank B. Sanborn, poet, transcendentalist, intimate and disciple of Emerson. Sanborn provides a link between the idealistic transcendentalists and the social problems of the day; indeed, his work suggests that historians, such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who have argued that the transcendentalists isolated themselves from the crucial issues of the time, have been in error. Perhaps Ralph Waldo Emerson was the T.H. Green of the early and mid-nineteenth century.[3]

---

[2] See "Public Charitable Institutions" Massachusetts Senate Document No. 12, January, 1859. Hereafter referred to as Board of State Charities, 1865 and 1866, respectively. The two reports considered in this chapter are the First Annual Report of the Board of State Charities to which are added the Reports of the Secretary and the General Agent of the Board, Public Document 19, January, 1865 and Second Annual Report...., January, 1866. These will hereafter be referred to as Board of State Charities, 1865 and 1866, respectively.

[3] See Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson, Boston, 1950, pp. 380-382. On the Influence of T.H. Green see Melvin Richter, The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and His Age, Cambridge, 1964. For an intriguing comparison between the influence of Green and Garman of Amherst see George E. Peterson, The New England College in the Age of the University, Amherst, 1964, ch. 7, "The Whole Man as Reformer." If the comparison with Emerson is valid, then the fact that Emerson did not hold a university appointment suggests in itself the change in the nature and role of universities in the late nineteenth century.

Private as well as State philanthropy increased markedly in the decades preceding the Civil War. Between 1815 and 1830, according to one estimate, private philanthropy in Boston averaged $100,000 per year; between 1830 and 1845 the figure was $133,000; and in the year 1864-65 a cautious estimate revealed an increase to $500,000.[4] But public and private philanthropists did not act in isolation. One significant joint venture was the first normal school;[5] another was the first reform school.

In 1846 two petitions to the State legislature urged the creation of a State Manual Labor School.[6] The committee appointed to investigate the petitions reported favorably, and a commission was appointed to select and purchase a site.[7] The prospects and prestige of the project were enhanced by an anonymous gift of $10,000 from Theodore Lyman, who promised an equal sum in the future. Lyman, ex-mayor of Boston, had a particular interest in reform schools since he had been influential in establishing a private one on Thompson's Island in Boston.

---

[4] Board of State Charities (Secretary's Report), 1865, pp. 210-212. Comparisons between Massachusetts and England on administrative reform, the nature of institutional development and the pattern of private philanthropy during this period are striking. See David Roberts, Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State, New Haven, 1960, and David Owen, English Philanthropy 1660-1960, Cambridge, 1964, pp. 91-208. Owen discusses reform schools on pp. 152-155. On aspects of the organization of American philanthropy see Clifford S. Griffin, Their Brothers" Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865, New Brunswick, 1960.

[5] On normal schools see particularly Jonathan C. Messerli, "Localism and State Control in Horace Mann's Reform of the Common Schools," American Quarterly, Vol. XVII, 1, Spring, 1965, pp. 104-118, esp. pp. 114-115.

[6] The petitions in manuscript form are on file in the Massachusetts State Archives, under Resolves, 1846, ch. 143, "for the erection of a State Manual Labor School."

[7] Senate Document No. 86, March 27, 1846. Hereafter referred to as First Legislative Report.

In 1814 the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys had been created through private philanthropy. The Asylum never became, strictly speaking, a reform school since its inmates had not been convicted of a crime. Rather, it took orphans and other neglected children "to restrain" them "from vicious courses by a judicious system of education." In 1831 the Asylum encountered severe financial difficulties and started a public appeal for funds. At the same time a group of philanthropists were also soliciting funds to establish a Farm School and with the money collected they purchased Thompson's Island, The boys in the Asylum were transferred to the Farm School and the two charities combined. For a number of years Theodore Lyman was president of the directors of the Farm School. In 1846 he proposed that the School be enlarged to accomodate boys from communities besides Boston. But the other directors did not accept his proposal, "and (perhaps in consequence) General Lyman directed his munificence towards the State Institution at Westborough."[8] Lyman continued his generosity to the reform school, to which he willed $50,000.

The legislative commissioners' report and land purchase were received favorably by the legislature, which passed a law ordering the erection of a reform school, a term the commissioners preferred to manual labor.[9] The governing body of the school was a board of seven trustees, responsible to the governor and, in 1863, placed under the surveillance of the Board of State Charities. The power of committing boys was vested in each magistrate in the Commonwealth, a system later radically altered. Building proceeded rapidly, and on December 7, 1848, officially opened the first state reform school, first definitely in the United States and England, probably in Europe.

---

[8] Board of State Charities (Secretary's Report), 1866, pp. 97-100.

[9] Senate Document No. 10, January, 1847, Hereafter referred to as Second Legislative Report.

Writers concerned with the Reform School were particularly proud that Massachusetts was the first state to establish an institution specifically designed for the reformation of juveniles. However, municipalities had anticipated the state. In 1825 a New York House of Refuge was opened through private philanthropy. The City granted increasing sums for its maintenance and, after 1830, "the institution was entirely supported by public appropriations. . . .[10] The other reformatory preceding Westborough was the Boston House of Reformation, opened in 1827. However, by 1865 the Boston institution and its municipal counterpart, opened at Lowell in 1851, differed from the state school since the former were "mainly, if not exclusively, devoted to the reception of Truants" whereas the inmates of Westborough, as we shall see, were usually committed on different charges. A number of other municipal reform, really Truant, schools were established following the passage of a state truant law in 1862, which required each city and town to provide suitable accommodations for children convicted of habitual truancy.[11]

---

[10] Blake McKelvey, American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915, Chicago, 1936, p.14. For an account of a different method of handling delinquents see, Miriam Z. Langsam, Children West, A History of the Placing-Out System of the New York Children's Aid Society, 1853-1890, Madison, 1964. For biographical details on Francis

---

George Shaw see James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, New York, 1888, v.50, p. 486.

[11] Board of State Charities(Secretary's Report), 1866, pp. 102-109. The relation of the state reform school at Westborough to municipal reformatories and truant schools is somewhat complex. When the reform school was opened in 1848, truancy was not a legal offense and boys actually imprisoned for truancy were convicted on other charges, usually "stubborness." The first law making truancy an offense was passed in 1850. Surprisingly, truancy became a punishable offense two years before attendance at school became compulsory! Truant laws of 1850 and 1852 forced a differentiation in reform institutions. Truants could only be given sentences of first one, then two years. Boys could only be sent to the reform school for the duration of their minority. Thus, if a magistrate convicted a boy of truancy he had to send him elsewhere than to Westborough. Changes in the pattern of offences for which boys were sent to municipal institutions were reflected in the Boston House of Reformation. At first this took boys for all sorts of offences. After the passing of the truant law, truancy gradually gained prominence among the offences of boys committed until the school became, actually, a truant school.

See: City of Boston, *Report of the Standing Committee of the Common Council on the Subject of the House of Reformation for Juvenile Offenders*, Boston, 1852, pp. 5-7; City of Boston, *Houses of Industry and Reformation*, City Document No.14, Boston, 1844, p.20; Massachusetts Statutes, 1850, chap. 294; 1852, chap. 283; United States Bureau of Education, *Truant Schools*(Chapter III of the report of the Commissioner of Education), Washington, 1901; John William Perrin, *The History of Compulsory Education in New England*, Meadville(Pennsylvania), 1896.

The two concerns that combined to form the argument that the Commonwealth should create a reform school were the evils of mixing juvenile delinquents and mature criminals in the same jail and apprehension at an increase in crime. Each of the two petitions sent the state legislature in 1846 stressed one of these concerns. The first petition came from the second jury of trials in Norfolk County. The foreman of the jury was Francis George Shaw. Shaw was a wealthy businessman and litterateur active at Brook Farm and in the affairs of Roxbury. He again provides a link between transcendentalism and social reform. The second petition, from the selectmen of the town of Roxbury, located within Norfolk County, was sent "in aid of the petition of F.G.Shaw." The petition of the Norfolk jury argued its case succinctly:

> The House of Correction in this County is not a fit or suitable place for the confinement and detention of juvenile offenders. . .there is or can be no suitable employment provided. . .they are necessarily exposed to the contaminating influence of convicts already hardened in crime. . .they are therefore depraved rather than reformed. . .and consequently when discharged, fitter subjects for detention than when they were committed.[12]

The answers to questions asked of selected individuals by the legislative committee reinforced this argument. Judge Emory Washburn of Worcester replied that he had "always felt. . .serious objections to committing boys...to a jail or house of correction" because it placed "a stigma upon the character of the boy, which is a serious clog to his success in life." Moreover, the policy afforded him little opportunity for either an intellectual or moral education, and, most seriously, it allowed him "to see and hold intercourse with the older prisoners. ..."[13] Moses Grant of Boston put the matter even more bluntly. "Boston jail," he wrote, is "as great a school of vice as can be well imagined, and eminently calculated to harden" boys "in crime."[14] In their report the legislative committee echoed the petitions and responses. By the present penal policy, the report claimed, a boy was forced

---

[12] From the manuscript, Massachusetts State Archives.

> for a short time to associate with desperate and hardened criminals, and ...then returned upon the community with feelings hardened, his moral sense blunted, and the spirit of revenge burning in his bosom, it may be, against those whome he considers the instruments of his degredation.[15]

Judge Washburn, in his speech at the opening of the reform school, considered penal policy in the light of other criteria. Improvements in the treatment of criminals, he claimed, was one sign of the advance of civilization. "For some reason," he observed, "criminal justice seems to have been almost always behind the age in which it was administered." To treat young and old offenders alike, he asserted, violated "one of the first principles of the science of prison discipline, as well as of common humanity."[16]

---

[13] First Legislative Report, pp. 10-11.

[14] Ibid., p. 14.

[15] Ibid., p. 2.

[16] Emory Washburn, An Address at the Dedication of the State Reform School at Westborough, December 7, 1848, Boston, 1849, pp. 88-92.

Washburn's remarks indicate two important aspects of mid-nineteenth century reform. First was the consciousness that altered social conditions required altered social institutions. In part the high school was to bring the system of public education into line with economic progress; the reform school was to bring the penal system into line with scientific and moral advance. Second was an increased sensitivity to differences in the age and condition of individuals. The theory of educational reform urged an almost child centered pedagogy; the theory of penal reform urged a child centered prison.[17] The theory of educational reform urged the grading of schools; the theory of penal reform urged the grading of prisons.

The desire to provide distinct and humane treatment for children was only one of the concerns behind the founding of the reform school. The other was an increase in crime, especially juvenile crime. In their petition the Roxbury selectmen complained;

> We have been called upon frequently to take charge of boys and give them a place in our Alms House, who have been in the habit of lodging in barns and sheds, and exposed to everything which is bad, and dangerous to society, who have no friends to direct them and if they have cannot control them - We have noticed the most profligate and profane, who are strolling about the streets, who never go to school because they have no one to make them, who are fitting themselves for the most dangerous [sic] in society, growing up in hardened guilt, destroying themselves, and poisoning society with their wickedness.[18]

---

[17] This also was the period when special institutions were established for the insane, the blind and the deaf --also, for the teacher.

[18] From the manuscript, Massachusetts State Archives.

The selectmen included with their petition an extract from the report of the town school committee, which stressed the existence of "a class of large boys, numerous and we fear increasing, who seldom or never go to school and have little or no visible occupation." Without correction, these boys would grow to be "the more perceptible disturbers [sic] pests and burdens" of society.[19] Similarly, in answer to the questions of the legislative committee Judge S.D. Parker of Boston asserted, "That during the year 1845, there has been a great and alarming increase of juvenile offenders, and the crimes these youths have committed were of a very aggravated nature, including arson, stabbing, shop-breaking, larcenies, etc"[20] and from Charlestown William Sawyer observed, "I believe the want, exposure, temptation and suffering of some juveniles in this town, would astound those who have never given any attention to it."[21] Whoever has been familiar with our criminal courts," observed Judge Washburn, "cannot have failed to mark the increase of crime of late, especially among the young."[22] The reform school was a key strategy proposed for dealing with the alarming increase in crime; but it was a strategy based on certain assumptions about the nature of crime and poverty, assumptions for which reformers thought they had good evidence.

---

[19] Loc. cit.

[20] First Legislative Report, p. 16.

[21] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[22] Washburn, Address...., p. 102.

II. From "favorable impressions" to "imperfection of the stock"; The Theory of Crime and Poverty

In the lexicon of reformers the first fact about crime was its urban nature. The legislative commission of 1847 asserted confidently, "We know that most of the inmates will come from populous places,"[23] and their prediction was fulfilled. In 1850, for instance, one hundred and one of the three hundred and eleven inmates came from Suffolk County, sixty-three of the boys from Essex and fifty-nine from Middlesex. Only thirty were sent "from the five western counties." From these figures the superintendent concluded, "the greater proportion of commitments are from the manufacturing portion of the State, and from that section containing the large towns and cities; and but few from the agricultural part of our community."[24] Likewise, in 1864 the trustees of the reform school claimed, "We see a large number of boys in the State, most of them in the cities and larger towns, who unless early placed in some such school as this, must inevitably become a very dangerous class...."[25] The relationship assumed between cities and crime was reflected in popular literature was well as in reformist tracts. David Brion Davis writes:

> During the 1840's fictional descriptions of city crime increased to astonishing proportions. In 1853 George Lippard presented, against a general backdrop of New York poverty, prostitution, and violent death, vivid accounts of six rapes, seven adulteries, and twelve murders. In the works of Ingraham, Buntline, Henri Foster, and Lippard, the 'true' nature of the city was revealed to the American people.

---

[23] Second Legislative Report, p. 6.

[24] Senate Document 12, 1850, p. 17. This and all other references cited as House Document, Senate Document and Public Document refer to the annual reports of the Trustees and Superintendent of the Reform School, published under different titles.

[25] Public Document 20, October 1864, p.3.

> Under the bustling activity, the growing commerce, the glittering stores, and the finery of dress, they beheld an incredible social decay. If one cared to leave the main thoroughfares and walk into Boston's Ann Street or New York's Five Points, one would find a darkened area of poverty and oppression, where ragged children begged for pennies, where haggard prostitutes desperately solicited trade, where strangers suddenly disappeared, and where corpses stiffened in doorways and gutters, arousing neither sympathy nor attention.[26]

But how did cities cause crime? Nathan Crosby, Justice of the Police Court of Lowell, related to the legislative commission the chilling, if melodramatic, fate of many nice New England farm girls who came to work in the model city. Often, he claimed, girls between fifteen and seventeen years old came to Lowell with but money enough for a week's board. If they failed to find work, they were ejected from their boarding house and sought another, "to be again turned away. In the mean time, cab-drivers and others take advantage of their necessities and ruin them." Still others were "decoyed away in cabs and long walks, till their boarding houses" were closed, and after a repetition of such delinquencies," were permanently turned away, only to be "taken up by the watchmen as night-walkers." Indeed, the town had "many young girls who spend their nights in unfinished and and old houses, in the woods,&c., and are supplied with food by the rascals who have ruined them." Here, most graphically, was a need for reformation, and Crosby pleaded, unsuccessfully, that the new reform school be coeducational.[27] Aside from facilitating the seduction of innocent girls, cities promoted crime by bringing together large numbers of potential offenders. "Leagued together for plunder, and in some instances, the accomplices of adult rogues," they raided property and either evaded the law or received short sentences. In short, they "were accelerated in a vicious and criminal career. . . ."[28]

---

[26] David Brion David, Homicide in American Fiction, 1798-1860: A Study in Social Values, Ithaca, 1957, p. 259.

[27] Second Legislative Report, pp. 60-61. The State did establish a reformatory for girls in 1854 at Lancaster.

To reformers crime, poverty, immigration and urbanism were inextricably woven together; Massachusetts to Emory Washburn was a state:

> With a population more dense than that of any of her sister states; with a metropolis ranking, in point of numbers, among the first class of the cities in our country; with cities and villages scattered all over her territory, and teeming with active life, gathering within its crowded masses those poisonous seeds of vice, which by some strange law of our nature, germinate most surely where men do most congregate; with hosts of foreigners crowding to our shores, and bringing with them the habits and associations of foreign lands; with intemperance, that great mother of poverty, and vice, and crime, spreading out her lures on every side. . . .[29]

Within this appalling urban society, claimed the superintendent of the reform school in 1850, recurred a typical pattern through which boys became delinquents. The first crime was often truancy from school. The truant became familiar with "horse racing, the bowling saloon, the theatrical exhibitions, and other similar places of amusement, debauchery and crime. . . ." In the bowling alley, "initiated by being employed in setting pins," he soon acquired the "desire to act the man" and became "a juvenile gambler. Profanity, drunkenness, and licentiousness," soon followed, "hurrying him forward in the path of crime and ruin."[30]

---

[28] House Document 20, 1856, p. 37.

[29] Washburn, Address. . . ., op. cit., p. 102.

[30] Senate Document 12, 1850, pp. 21-22.

Essentially, the boy became a criminal because he yielded to temptation; he had not "moral principle to restrain him."[31] But for two reasons the boy himself could not be blamed for his depravity; he was neither innately vicious nor weak, but the victim of poverty and familial failure.[32] Between poverty and crime, reformers held, was an intimate connection; the worst boy came from "the lowest stratum."[33] The unity of crime and poverty was stressed by Frank Sanborn, secretary of the Board of State Charities. "This," he asserted, "is a point which cannot be too strongly urged." In fact, he claimed confidently, "no less than three-fourths of what is technically called crime. . .is the direct result of poverty and its attendant evils."

> Of the thousands committed to our prisons during the past year, not more than one in ten ever owned property to the value of a thousand dollars, and the great majority have never owned anything that could well be called property.[34]

One reason why cities bred crime is that they bred poverty. The legislative committee on charitable institutions observed, "it is in the cities and large towns that the greater proportion of our State paupers are found." Of the 7,100 inmates in the State almshouses in 1858, 2,719 were from Boston and 480 from Lowell. The cities that sent most paupers, claimed the committee, were the most industrial; immigration sponsored by industrial corporations had caused the alarming increase in the bill for public charity:

---

[31] Loc. cit.

[32] On poverty in this period see Robert H. Bremner, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States, New York, 1956, ch.1.

[33] House Document 2, 1856, p. 37.

[34] Board of State Charities(Secretary's Report), 1865, p.409.

> monster corporations import by the shipload the employees who fill their mills, do the base drudgery of their workshops and their degrading, ill paid, menial services in every branch of business. They allow them to erect in their cities and towns the most miserable shanties for dwellings, or else the capitalists, who profit by their labor, do it in their stead. In them are made the paupers of the state. . . .

According to the committee the foreign population of the five cities leading in the production of paupers was: Boston, 61.75%; Lawrence, 71.66%; Lowell, 54.17%; Roxbury, 63.70%; and Chicopee, about 33 per cent.[35]

The nature of the urban family was one of the "attendant evils" of poverty most conducive to criminality. A "family whose parental instructors are ignorant, inefficient and immoral," wrote the chaplain of the reform school in 1859, "is quite sure to make a disastrous failure of the education of the little ones committed to its care."[36] Pedagogical theory asserted, Part Two has noted, that the shape of the essentially plastic character of the child was determined by the models from which it gained impressions and direction; "it is absolutely important that the young be subjected to favorable impressions, and be trained in the course of virtue and duty," claimed Dr. S.B. Woodward of the State Lunatic Hospital, Worcester, "or the tendency will be unfavorable, and great hazard run, of a career of vice with individuals whose moral and intellectual culture has been neglected in childhood and early youth. . . ."[37] The parental models, the impressions provided in cities, were the worst possible. Charlestown, claimed William Sawyer, "is no worse than other large places, where children are suffered to grow up without any moral culture, and what is worse, amidst scenes of drunkeness, debauchery, and other crime. . . ." Judge Sawyer contended:

---

[35] Public Charitable Institutions, pp. 81-82.

[36] Public Document 23, 1859, p.44.

> there is seldom a case of a juvenile offender, in which I am not well satisfied that the parents, or person having the child in charge, is most blamable - they take no pains to make him attend school - they suffer him to be out nights without knowing or caring where; and, in many instances, they are incapable of taking care of themselves, much less of their children; they have no home fit for a child; their residence is a grog shop; their companions drunkards and gamblers or worse; they bestow no thought upon their child, until he falls into the hands of an officer and is brought before a court.[38]

In his introduction to the information presented here as Table 1 the superintendent of the reform school commented, "The following facts have been gathered, to throw some light upon the causes of crime as developed in the commitments to the Reform School." The facts served to reinforce the connection reformers asserted between the nature of the family and juvenile delinquency:

---

[37] First Legislative Report, p.4.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

Table 1. Family Background and Previous Habits of Boys Committed to the State Reform School, 1850-1851

Whole number	440
Lost their father	169
Lost their mother	108
Father has no steady employment	138
Father is intemperate	194
Mother is intemperate	57
Father uses profane language	170
Mother uses profance language	45
Father is Sabbath breaker	145
Mother is Sabbath breaker	71
Father, mother, brothers or sisters have been or are imprisoned	72
Has been idle previous to admission or had no steady employment	350
*Has been over-indulged	227
Has been neglected	225
Has been a truant from school	367
Has been a Sabbath breaker	297
Has been addicted to lying	394
Has used tobacco	230
Has used profane language	356
Has used obscene language	259
Has attended the theater and similar places of amusement	303
*Has slept out	261
Has drank ardent spirits - most of them to intoxication	169
Has been arrested previously	172
Once	88
Twice	33
Three times	16
Four times	10
Five times and over	25
Has been in prison or schools of reform	116

*over-indulged meant not provided with an excess of luxuries but allowed to do as he pleased

** slept out meant spent the night away from home

Some inaccuracy is probable since the figures were "based on the acknowledgments of the boys themselves," but the general shape of the picture remains, and from this table the superintendent concluded the first cause of crime was "orphanage," the second, "parental inefficiency."

The impression of urban delinquents presented by observers, a picture of boys reared in poverty and subject to no parental control, exposed to drunkeness, truant from school, leading a wild existence that led to a replication of parental behavior: such a picture was more than a figment of the imagination.[39]

Yet unproven are observers' assertions of a connection between crime and immigrants and of an increase in delinquency. In 1850 41% of the inmates of the Reform School were either Irish immigrants or their children;[40] the foreign born population of Massachusetts as a whole was 18.93%.[41] The superintendent attributed the fact that the number was not disproportionately larger to the different attitudes towards the reform school of Protestant and Catholic families. Anxious for the State to try to reform their sons, Protestant parents, he claimed, often voluntarily committed their children, a phenomenon that will be returned to; on the other hand, Catholic parents resisted any attempt to incarcerate their children in the reform school.[42] One reason for the hostility of Catholic parents undoubtedly was the explicitly Protestant nature of the reform school, until 1860 under the supervision of a resident, Evangelical Protestant chaplain, who conducted the compulsory prayers and chapel and worked actively for the spiritual regeneration of the individual boys.[43]

---

[39] House Document 14, 1851, pp. 24-25.

[40] Public Document 23, 1858, p.51.

[41] My computation from census figures.

[42] Public Document 23, 1858, p.51.

Figures relating to the crime rate are both unreliable and hard to find. More explicit, though also highly questionable, figures exist for pauperism, as measured by persons in receipt of state and local aid. The committee investigating state charities and Frank Sanborn both made a persistent effort to gather historical data on poverty. Their figures, while not accurate, probably can be accepted as representing trends. Between 1826 and 1831 pauperism actually decreased; from the early thirties until 1845 pauperism(and immigration) increased slowly, but both increased dramatically in the late forties and reached a peak in 1858. If one accepts the contention that crime was directly related to poverty, then the assertion that crime was increasing can be regarded as most likely valid.[44]

The Civil War had a curious effect on crime and poverty. Many of those who might have become paupers served in the army, and male crime and pauperism diminished. On the other hand, female and juvenile crime increased alarmingly. By implication the nature of the crime was peculiarly disturbing to a generation that preached restraint and the higher pleasures as the paths to social and individual salvation. Frank Sanborn remarked with dismay:

---

[43] For a comment on the importance of the role of the chaplain see the speech of the out-going one, Rev. N. Scott, *A Plea for the Bible in the State Reform School at Westboro', Mass. A Farewell Discourse Delivered* April 4, 1862, Boston, 1862. This is hardly an unbiased source, but it does offer insight into the role of chaplain and an extreme statement of the necessity of Protestant evangelicalism in the reform school.

[44] Public Charitable Institutuions, pp. 39 and 131.

> It may not be extravagent to say that one in four of the many children committed to our prisons have near relatives in the army. The same is true of the female prisoners, though probably not in the same proportion. It has been again and again said to me by prison officers that the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of soldiers are among the numerous additions to the list of female criminals in the past few years; and many of these officers ascribe the increase in female crime to the distribution of State Aid and bounty money. The possession of more money than usual makes these poor women drink, and from this they are led on to worse offences; while the absence of their sons, husbands and fathers leaves them without restraint or protection.

Hardly a report to boost morale on the front! Sanborn also warned that the return of peace might bring an increase in both crime and pauperism, a prediction that was verified.[45]

In 1850, Table 2 reveals, two sorts of offenses accounted for most of the committals to the reform school; and the figures for this year were typical of others.

Table 2. Offenses of Boys Committed to Reform School in 1850[46]

Larceny	109
Stubborness	106
Idle and Disorderly	17

(continued)

---

[45] Board of State Charities(Secretary's Supplementary Report), 1865,p.77.

[46] Senate Document 12, 1850,p.21.

(Table 2, continued)

Vagrancy	23
Shopbreaking and stealing	17
Burglary	1
Housebreaking and stealing	2
Shopbreaking with intent to steal	3
Pilfering	7
Having obscene books and prints for circulation	1
Common drunkards	2
Malicious mischief	13
Assault	1
Trespass	4
Arson	2
Runaways	3
Total	311

Most offenses involved stealing under one or another label. However, the meaning of the obviously important offense "stubborness," is unclear. Apparently the term puzzled readers of the period, too, because the next year the superintendent tried to provide an explanation. Rather than try to precisely define the amorphous term, the superintendent cited case histories of boys committed for "stubbornness:"

> No.__Has spent most of his time idling about the streets in company with other bad boys, and has been addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors and tobacco; has often been intoxicated, has indulged in lying, profanity, pilfering, and sleeping out.
> No.__Was sent to the House of Correction a year since, for stubbornness. For four or five years has been in the habit of pilfering money and small articles from his mother; has been notoriously profane, having formed the habit of lying, and associating with a bad class of boys, often returning to his mother late at night.
> No.__Is a notorious truant from school, and home; addicted to the habits of chewing tobacco and profanity. He has associated with the worst class of boys, ran away from home many times, often staying away several days, and even months at a time, sleeping nights in stables, or any place that might afford him shelter. At two different times he was absent three months.

> No.__His father died about ten years since. He has often taken money from his mother, and treated her in the most insulting and shameful manner; throwing billets of wood at her, and threatening her life, so that she has been obliged to call in the neighbors and the watchman.
> No.__Was once fined for throwing stones at a market man; is a notorious pilferer, having taken money and small articles too numerous to mention; also addicted to the habits of chewing and smoking tobacco, lying, profanity, and Sabbath breaking.

Contained in state law, stubborness was the "crime" used to incarcerate boys who could be convicted of no other specific offense. It was, moreover(as we shall see), an offense used by parents to commit their children.[47]

Until the mid-1860's pauper, criminal and depraved were closely associated terms; they implied that certain potentialities for evil, present within all men, had been developed at the expense of the more beneficent tendencies. These potentialities for evil had been cultivated by a pernicious environment, contended the reformers. Thus, the theory of crime was profoundly democratic; it implied, that is, that all men were inherently equal in moral potentiality; how that potential was realized was determined by the circumstances in which the child lived. Really, however, the theory explained little. Poverty and crime were related, but each appeared to cause the other; both seemed to occur in cities; both seemed to characterize immigrants. But these are only relationships; the nature of the relationship, the explanation of the visible bonds, was imprecise and remained to be determined.

---

[47] House Document 14, pp.18-19.; Revised Statutes. . .1836,Title III Chap.143,sec.5.

The stress on environmental causes of deviant behavior was a noteable characteristic of the 1840's. For instance, psychiatrists stressed the importance of environment in producing insanity and argued that the tensions accompanying the development of industries and cities were a prime cause of an increase they noted in mental disorder. In fact, widespread was the belief that insanity was most prevalent in the Northeast, the most urbanized part of the country.[48] Likewise, novelists concerned with crime increasingly implied the primacy of environment in moral development,[49] and the same stress was characteristic of the theories of reformers concerned with adult prisons. "One manifestation of a sympathetic outlook toward the criminal in the 1840's," asserts W. David Lewis, "was the willingness of many citizens to absolve him from guilt; either wholly or in part, by shifting blame to various environmental deficiencies."[50]

By the mid-1860's another explanation of crime and poverty, and with it a new definition, had appeared. In the second report of the Board of State Charities the new note became blatantly clear. "The causes of the evil [the existence of such a large proportion of dependent and of destructive members in our community] are manifold, but among the immediate ones, the chief cause is inherited organic imperfection, - vitiated constitution, or *poor stock*."[51] The prominence given hereditary over environmental causation in the report of the Board is explained, first, by the views of its author, the famous educator and social reformer, Samuel Gridley Howe. By the 1860's Howe, somewhat discouraged with the results of the Perkins Institute, had begun to believe that the blind were inherently mentally inferior, and a general emphasis on the importance of heredity marked his thought in this period.[52] Howe was not alone in his stress on heredity. By the 1860's the optimism of the environmentalists in the theory of insanity had likewise given way to an emphasis upon innate deficiencies,[53] and even popular novels concerned with the causes of crime reflected this trend.[54] The Board of State Charities delineated two kinds of "vitiation or imperfection of the stock."

---

[48] Norman Dain, *Concepts of Insanity in the United States, 1789-1865*, New Brunswick, 1964, pp. 83-90.

[49] Davis, *op. cit.*, pp.43-44.

[50] W.David Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848*, Ithaca, 1965, p.231.

> First, lack of vital force; second, inherited tendencies to vice. The first comes from poor nutrition, use of stimulants, or abuse of functions, on the part of the progenitors.
> The second comes from their vicious habits of thought and action. The first, or lack of vital force, affects mainly the dependent class, and lessens their ability for self-guidance.

The poor and the criminal were no longer merely depraved; they were inferior.

---

[51] Board of State Charities, 1866, pp. xxii-xxiii.

[52] Harold Schwartz, *Samuel Gridley Howe Social Reformer, 1801-1876*, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 271-272 and 275-276.

[53] Dain, *op. cit.*, p.110

[54] Davis, *op. cit.*, p.82.

The Board reinforced their contention that characteristics acquired by parents were inherited by children with purportedly scientific evidence from physiologists. Large doses of alcohol stimulate "those organs or those functions" manifest in the "animal passions, and represses those which manifest themselves in the higher or human sentiment which result in will." The habit of yielding to the "animal passions" had horrifying consequences for posterity:

> Any morbid condition of body, frequently repeated, becomes established by habit. Once established, it affects the man in various ways and makes him more liable to certain diseases. . . .This liability, or tendency, he transmits to his children, just as surely as he transmits likeness in form or feature. . . .It is morally certain that the frequent or the habitual overthrow of the conscience and will, or the habitual weakening of them, soon establishes a morbid condition, with morbid appetites and tendencies, and that the appetites and tendencies are surely transmitted to the offspring. . . .a father gives to his offspring certain tendencies which lead surely to craving for stimulants. The cravings, once indulged, grow to a passion, the vehemence of which passes the comprehension of common men.

Alcohol was particularly insidious, the Board contended, because continued, small intakes had more damaging consequences than occasional drunkenness. The body of the habitual, if mild, drinker never rid itself of alcohol. Moreover, there was little danger that the drunk would sire a legion of potential drunkards since the procreative powers were lessened during drunkenness, but "taken in small doses" alcohol "does not sensibly lessen the period of procreative desires and powers. . . ."

> Procreation during drunkenness is rare, but the cases where it is followed by fearful defects, deformities and passions in the

> offspring are too numerous and well established to admit a doubt of the nature of the cause.[55]

A difference in native and immigrant stock, the Board felt, was proved by Dr. Edward Jarvis' analysis of the registers of burial in "Mount Auburn cemetery, used as a burial place by American families of Boston, in wealthy and comfortable circumstances, and of the three great Catholic cemeteries in Charlestown, North Cambridge, and Dorchester. . . ." The results are presented as Table 3:

Table 3. Ages of Death of Burials in Mount Auburn and Catholic Cemeteries (The figures represent the number of burials in each age group per ten thousand burials. Note that the first four categories are cumulative, the last four, distinct.)

Age	Mount Auburn	Catholic Cemeteries
Under 1	1,163	2,877
Under 5	2,796	5,830
Under 10	3,332	6,319
Under 20	3,979	6,713
From 20 to 40	2,363	1,827
From 40 to 60	1,591	975
From 60 to 80	447	252
80 and over	107	-

The far more frequent "deaths in infancy and childhood. . .among the foreign population" were partly a product of the "greater skill and care" received by more fortunate children; also it was partly a product of hereditary weakness. Although their argument had pessimistic implications, the Board did not want to induce despair; "we may, by taking thought, during two or three generations, correct the constitutional tendencies to disease and early decay."[56]

---

[55] *Board of State Charities,1866*, pp.xxiii-xxix.

Their attempt at optimism, however, was not convincing or, even, precisely and clearly argued. The Board relied on natural law and contended that the body had certain recuperative powers; as in the oscillation of the heavenly bodies, it said, a certain margin of error was permissible; if the standard deviation of vice, that is, had not been exceeded, then the healing powers of the body held out hope. The Board rejected the contention that people could be asked to abstain from marriage and, instead, claimed that in "a few generations, with temperate life and wisely assorted marriage, the morbid conditions will disappear, - the median line is regained." In a tasteless comparison with a trained dog, the Board continued, the children of the "intemperate and vicious classes do tend to point in the wrong direction, but the tendency is not yet so established that they point simultaneously. They are still susceptible to the influences of education, and of moral and religious training, and these should be brought to bear upon them." [57]

Frank Sanborn felt that the influences of education, indeed, had not been brought to bear upon the people who needed them most. He documented an assertion that a relationship existed between crime and illiteracy. In 1854 73.7% of the prisoners in Massachusetts County jails had been illiterate; by 1864 the number had dropped to 37.8 per cent. What surprised Sanborn was a comparison of the Massachusetts to foreign figures. In England and Wales, which lacked a system of common schools, 33% of the prisoners were illiterate as were 50% in Ireland. But in Scotland "not more than 25%" could not read and write. Sanborn felt these figures showed that the illiteracy among the criminals was much higher than among the population as a whole; disappointing, however, was the fact that the drop in the percentage of illiterate criminals had not been accompanied by a decrease in crime.[58]

---

[56] Ibid., pp. xix-xxxi.

[57] Ibid., pp.xxxi-xxxvii. The analogy between dogs and children was made explicitly:"So, when it comes to education or training, our people known that it is hard to teach the pup of an untrained pointer to point, while it is very easy to teach the pup of a trained dog. And further, that if several generations are trained, the last. . .will point. . .instinctivey."

In spite of the gloomy and disheartening theory of the inheritance of acquired tendencies toward vice, the Board retained a faith in the ability of man to control society. The existence of crime and poverty, claimed the Board, "is phenomenal - not essential in society. . .their numbers depend upon social conditions within human control. . . ."

> The important truth, therefore, that the numerical proportion of the dependent and criminal classes to the whole population is subject to conditions within human control, and may be rapidly increased or lessened by the actions of society, should be presented in every aspect on every proper occasion.[59]

The scientific study of heredity had revealed the nature of crime; the scientific study of society would reveal the laws of social control. To further these ends Frank Sanborn, in 1865, helped to found the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

---

[58] Board of State Charities, 1865(Secretary's Report),pp. 71-72.

[59] Ibid., p.xxii.

Part of the program the Board advanced to control society was educational; for they shared the belief that education was the best weapon against crime. The other aspect of their program was noticeably like the progressivism of the latter part of the century. Paradoxically, the second report of the Board delineated an ideology for which social Darwinism would be but a veneer, yet the report was used as a springboard for a program stressing increased governmental activity; paradoxically the Board used a theory of hereditary vice to argue the need for social medicine based on environmental manipulation. The Board, that is, argued that it was necessary to remove those causes which tempted and predisposed people to acquire the pernicious habits and tendencies, which could become hereditary. The Board called for:

> Improvement of dwellings; encouragement to ownership of homesteads; increased facility for buying clothing and wholesome food; decreased facility for buying rum and unwholesome food; restriction of exhausting labor; cleanliness in every street, land and yard which the[60] public arm can reach. . .and many other like measures. . . .

These new measures were to be added to the battery of weapons in the state's arsenal for the battle against crime and poverty. An older weapon was the State Reform School at Westborough.

---

[60] *Ibid*., pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

III. "at once a home and a school"

In a truly memorable sentence the legislative commissioners of 1847(one of whom was Robert Rantoul) described the nature and virtues of a reform school:

> Of the many and valuable institutions sustained, in whole or in part, from the public treasury, we may safely say that none is of more importance, or holds a more intimate connection with the future prosperity and moral integrity of the community, than one whibh promises to take neglected, wayward, wandering, idle and vicious boys, with perverse minds and corrupted hearts, and cleanse and purify and reform them, and thus send them forth, in the erectness of manhood and the beauty of virtue, educated and prepared to be industrious, useful and virtuous citizens.[61]

The words "reform" and "school" were chosen by the Commissioners to convey with precision their idea of the distinctive nature of the new institution.

The purpose of the institution, stressed the commissioners, was "'the reformation of juvenile offenders,'" which they understood to be distinctly different from punishment.[62] Consequently, the reformatory was "not to be called a prison or a penitentiary;" the commissioners proposed "to give to the external appearance of the buildings as little that of a prison as is consistent with entire security from escape."[63]

---

[61] Second Legislative Report, pp.12-13.

[62] *Ibid*., p.5.

[63] *Ibid*., p.11. The desire of the commissioners not to have the Refor School considered a penitentiary is ironical in view of the fact that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries "penitentiary" denoted an advanced, enlightened kind of penal institution. See Lewis, *op. cit*., on Newgate.

Likewise, in 1858 the superintendent remarked, "the fact must never be lost sight of that the prime object of the school is the reformation of the boy, and not his punishment. . . .It is to prevent him from becoming a criminal, and to make him a man."[64]

In terms of finished products the objects of reformation were the same as the objects of public education: respect for authority, self-control, self-discipline, self-reliance and self-respect. Without "subjection of will to right control," claimed the superintendent, "no sure reformation can be effected. . . ." Indeed, "neglect of restraint," "unconquered will following depraved inclination" had created "the demand for our institution."[65] But "the erectness of manhood and the beauty of virtue" implied more than abject submission to authority; and self-respect was an important goal of reformation. The properly reformed boy, claimed the superintendent, "acquires a fixed character; he finds himself worthy of respect; he finds himself confided in; he respects and confides in himself."[66] The meaning of reform, thus, was the total transformation of character.

"In order to secure the desired reformation, the Commissioners propose to call the institution a school," meaning a formal institution for learning correct attitudes and useful skills, wrote the commission of 1847. Because education, as Part Two has described, was as much moral as intellectual, the reformation of character was an educative process. The reformatory was in every sense a school, yet a very special sort of school. "For those who will avail themselves of our schools, open to every child, provision is already made," noted the Commissioners. "But for those who, blind to their own interests, choose the school of vicious associates only, the State has yet to provide a compulsory school, as a substitute for the prison, - it may be for the gallows."[67] The State Reform School was the first form of compulsory education in the United States. The Commonwealth discovered, however, that it had more than the six hundred inmates of Westborough who were "blind" to their own interests, and in the 1850's compulsory education was extended in the form of state-wide laws.

---

[64] Public Document 23, 1858, p.7.

[65] Ibid., p.9.

[66] Ibid., p.11.

The words "reform" and "school" left unsaid a third, crucial part of the definition of the new institution. In their report arguing the hereditary nature of crime and urging social engineering the Board of State Charities asserted the existence of "a lever for the elevation of the race, more potent than any human instrumentality, to wit, the lever of parental love."[68] Parents who loved their children would see the connection between their own habits and the prospects of their future offspring; such parents would voluntarily reform themselves. But what if the all powerful force of parental love were missing? What if a child had no family worthy of the name? Then, almost surely, he would come to lead a life of crime and immorality: almost surely, unless he were provided with a home by loving foster parents. This assumption dictated one of the major strategies for the reform of youth. At the inauguration of a new superintendent in 1857, George Boutwell said, "This institution is at once a home and a school. . . ."[69]

---

[67] Second Legislative Report, p.15.

[68] Board of State Charities, 1866, p. xxxvi.

"The State must supply the place of a lost, or what is worse, a drunken parent," wrote the committee of 1846,[70] and this assumption was echoed in virtually all the literature surrounding the reform school: the first step in the strategy of reform was for the state to become the actual parent of the boy. In terms of the prevalent conception of crime the State had no other choice because reformers believed statistics proved that familial viciousness or weakness was the most direct cause of crime. But the assumption of a parental role was not to be deplored; the reform school, claimed Emory Washburn, "presents the State in her true relation, of a parent seeking out her erring children. . . .[71]

---

[69] George Boutwell, "Speech at the Inauguration of Mr. Starr," in *Services at the Induction of William E. Starr, esq., as Superintendent of the State Reform School at Westboro', January 15,1857*, Boston,1857,p.13.

[70] First Legislative Report, p.10.

[71] Washburn, *Address*, *op. cit.*, p.85.

The reform school marked the beginning of an epoch; it represented the first time "in our country. . .a state, in the character of a common parent, has undertaken the high and sacred duty of rescuing and restoring her lost children, not so much by the terrors of the law, as by the gentler influence of the school."[72]

The parental state was to give the young offender a home; thus, in 1861 Superintendent Joseph A. Allen emphasized that "the great design of the school should be to make it, as much as possible, like a family, - to have the boys stand to the officers in the relation of children to parents."[73] A distinguished group of men, including John Philbrick, Superintendent of Schools in Boston, visited the reform school in 1863 and observed, "Here is a real home, not costly, but comfortable and satisfying. . . ."[74] The parental manner was to extend to discipline; causing each to feel that he has a personal interest in the welfare of all."[75] The ideal was never entirely attained, but in 1863 the trustees noted with pleasure progress in "bringing about a near approach to a parental government, and the abandonment of all corporal punishment and restraint." Claimed the trustees, "the government is intended to be parental and kind, and the law of love should be the ruling element in all the discipline of the establishment."[76]

---

[72] Ibid., pp. 100-101.

[73] Public Document 24, 1861, p.35.

[74] PublicDocument 23, 1863, p.10.

[75] House Document 2, 1854, p.28.

The pleasure of the trustees in 1861 resulted from the recent and successful introduction of the family system of organization:

> The experiment of subdividing the institution, and establishing separate households, has been fully tried during the year, and with most gratifying results. The farm house and garden house, having been prepared for the accomodation of thirty boys each: that number was selected from the most deserving, and sent out to colonize. Each house is under the charge of a gentleman and his wife, who have control and management of the boys, subject to the general rules of the institution, and subordinate to the Superintendent. They form, in reality, separate institutions. They have their own domestic arrangements, and their own school; and the boys come into the main building only for Chapel services on Sunday, and for occasional lectures. They are under no physical restraint or confinement. Being employed mostly upon the farm they can run away at any time, if they like.[77]

The family system of organization did not originate at Westborough; its earlier and successful introduction at the Commonwealth's Industrial School for Girls, at Lancaster, had spurred its establishment in the school for boys. The family system was an administrative reform based on three important contentions.

The family system clearly was the logical outcome of the contention that delinquency stemmed from the lack of a real home; it represented in part a concrete attempt to make reform familial in nature as well as intent. A second and related contention was, "Boys are not reformed in masses but by laboring with them individually."[78] Large, impersonal institutions reflected the industrial development of the time:

---

[76] _Public Document 24_, 1861, p.7.

[77] _Ibid_., pp.4-5.

[78] _Public Document 24_, 1862, p.37.

> Partiality to them is fostered by a false analogy between material and moral forces. We see the effect of organisation, discipline, and combined effort for any material enterprise, and infer that it is necessary for reformation. Congregation in numbers, order, discipline, absolute powers of officers and entire submission of soldiers, are essential to the efficiency of an army; and are supposed to be so in reformatories; but the object of armies is to make machines; in reformatories it is to make men.[79]

The Board of State Charities may have mixed its metaphors between the factory and the army, but its point was clear. Reform schools were to counteract, not reinforce, the worst tendencies of the time. The size of cities; the materialism of greedy corporations that imported and exploited labor; the problems of industrial communities: these were causes of crime; at no cost should reform schools ever be thought of as "moral machinery."

A third contention influential in the institution of the family system was an emphasis on the family as the "social unit". Without the family there would be "no real society, but a multitude of individuals who harden into selfishness as they grow older." The family "must be at the foundation of all permanent social institutions. . .by no human contrivance should any effectual substitute be found for it." The conclusion was obvious: "We shall find in our public institutions, that, other things being equal, the nearer they approach to the family system the better, and the contrary."[80] Still, the family units created at the reform school were contrived, not real. To obtain the full impact of virtuous, familial influence it was necessary to place the boy "in the quiet circle of a New England family;" and to give boys this experience, as well as to place them "under the steady parental control of a master," was a primary purpose of apprenticeship.[81] To find a boy a true New England family with a foster father was the best strategy of reform.

---

[79] Board of State Charities, 1866, lxiii-lxiv.

[80] Ibid., xlv-xlvi.

The location of the foster family, however, was critical. Because crime was an urban phenomenon, its cure could not take place in the city. Throughout the theory of reform ran the nineteenth century's idealization of the countryside; the countryside, in fact, became a weapon in the battle against juvenile delinquency. Most simply put, "The farmer's life is beset with fewer temptations than most mechanical employments, as they are usually more retired from large villages."[82] The experience of private reformatories had indicated that "a much greater proportion of the cases where boys. . .have fallen back into their former vices, are from among such as have been put to places in cities, or large, compact villages. . . ."[83] The assumption of the virtues of the countryside and the influence of landscape upon character were apparent in the description, provided by the 1847 legislative commission, of the site selected for the reform school:

---

[81] Senate Document 12, 1850, p.27.

[82] Senate Document 14, 1851, p.16.

[83] Second Legislative Report, p.53.

> It is situated on the borders of Chauncy Pond, which makes its boundary on one side. The pond is of clear, pure water, about thirty feet in depth, and covering one hundred and seventy-eight acres of land. The ground rises, by a gentle aclivity, from the shore of the pond, to a height which overlooks the beautiful sheet of water, and an extent of country beyond, embracing, in part, the village of Westborough, and gives a very pleasing prospect. There are no manufacturing villages in the vicinity, and the farm-houses are not more numerous than in most of the agricultural towns in the State, in proportion to the area. The situation, therefore, is sufficiently retired.[84]

Like "a mother who kisses while she chides," rhapsodized Emory Washburn, the State offers "hope, and the assurance of favor" to the deserving" but "it does more; it rears for them this refuge from temptation. It offers them this landscape, and spreads before them these pleasant fields, and bids its own servants to watch over their temporal and eternal interest."[85] Juvenile nature was plastic; "I have generally found," asserted Moses Grant of Boston, "that what have been considered in this city the worst of boys, when placed in a more favorable circumstance to the development of their character, have often done well and become useful men."[86] Children were molded by the influences around them; an essential part of the theory of reform, thus, was a change in circumstances, and few, if any, aspects of the circumstances were more important than the physical; exposure to the uplifting influence of the country became a key strategy of reform.

---

[84] Ibid., pp.6-7.

[85] Washburn, Address, op. cit., p. 108.

[86] First Legislative Report, p.14.

The stress on reformation through kindness and a proper environment was no more an unique characteristic of institutions for juveniles than was the environmental theory of delinquency. For example, in the 1840's a reform movement reached adult prisons. In New York State, according to Lewis, prison reformers rejected the belief that rehabilitation should be sought "by breaking the spirit of a man, subjecting him to a hard and humiliating discipline, and literally burying him from the world." For this harsh conception reformers substituted "a more positive approach of attempting to bring out the best in an inmate through the use of kindness and the extension of privileges. . . ."[87] In mental institutions moral as opposed to physical therapy, "that is, the creation of a complete therapeutic environment - social, psychological, and physical" had been growing in importance since the early nineteenth century, largely as a result of the influence of European writers. During the late 1830's and the 1840's innovations spurred by a belief in moral therapy entered asylums, which claimed "annual recovery rates of 80 to 90 per cent of patients brought in soon after falling ill, or 40 to 60 per cent of all patients admitted in a single year."[88] Attempted innovations in adult and juvenile penal institutions and mental hospitals were the attempted realization of the "soft-line" discussed in the previous part of this study. They were the counterparts of common school reformers' attempts to reduce corporal punishment, to recast the role of the teacher in a humane and benevolent mold, and to introduce pedagogical techniques proceeding from the interests of the children. Like the common school reforms other institutional innovations reflected the paradox of trying to instil restraint and prevent or cure deviant behavior through appealing to the affections, the very faculties whose indulgence allegedly bred immorality, crime and insanity.

---

[87] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p.201.

[88] Dain, *op. cit.*, p. 13 and pp. 119-120.

Another strategy of juvenile reform was the intellectual education offered the boys. Education, some said, was the best weapon against crime. It was, at any rate, a weapon that superintendents tried to wield with skill; from the inception of the reform school the classes, attended four hours a day, were graded, and the trustees and superintendent claimed their school was comparable to high schools in the large cities and towns of the state. Moreover, superintendents made a persistent effort to obtain the best teachers available, and Superintendent Allen, who was especially well versed in modern educational theories, introduced object teaching and oral instruction.[89]

The feminization that characterized the teaching force of the State also marked the staff of the reform school:

Experience teaches that these boys, many of whom never had a

---

[89] On formal education in the reform school and its importance see, Senate Document 6, 1849, pp.9-10, which gives the daily routine; Public Document 15, 1857, p.6, which emphasizes the effort to obtain the best available teachers; Public Document 23,1858, p.13, which claims the school is as good as most high schools; Public Document 24, 1862,p.5, which discusses the introduction of object teaching and oral instruction; Public Document 23, 1863, p.8, which discusses the grading of the school; Public Document 20, 1865, which also discusses grading and reports good progress ; and Board of State Charities,1866,ix, which discusses the relation of education and crime.

> mother's affection, or felt the kindly atmosphere of woman's love, need the softening and refining influence which woman alone can give, and we have, wherever practicable, substituted female officers and teachers for those of the other sex.[90]

However, the reform school and the public schools differed in the duties required of teachers. In the reform school the teacher, like a real mother, was to establish intimate relationships with the boys in a variety of activities; "teachers are required to oversee the boys in the yards during hours of recreation, and to take charge of them in part, during out-door and in-door labors. . . ." On the "Sabbath, when the boys are kept within the limits of the building and yards, the teachers have charge of them in their respective school rooms, except during chapel hours." Therefore, claimed the Superintendent, "the relation of the teacher. . .to his or her class, is very intimate."[91]

The comprehensive role of the teacher suggests an analogy between the reform school and a boarding,or even British Public school; the analogy is not far fetched. The superintendent's comment that "our best boys become active assistant in sustaining good order and a degree of decorum among themselves" suggests the introduction of a modified prefect system.[92] More explicitly, in 1861 the superintendent commented that boys living in one of the recently created "families" were "not even subject to any more strict discipline or supervision than is desirable in well-managed boarding schools." Truly, the reform school was not intended as a penal institution; it was to be an academy for delinquents.[93]

---

[90] Public Document 20, 1865, p.8.

[91] Public Document 23, 1858, p.14.

[92] Report of the Superintendent for 1852, p.29(not numbered as a state document)

Authority, kindness, enlightenment of conscience and constant employment: these, observed the superintendent in 1858, were four of the most important means of reform.[94] The agency for employing the first three means was the combination of parental, kindly discipline; the family system and female teachers. But the fourth, constant employment, was equally important, as the superintendent stressed suggestively: "the old couplet hath truth, if not poetry,

'Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do.'"

Labor, however, was more than busy work to keep boys out of mischief:

> Labor, to employ the hands, and busy the mind, and awaken ingenuity, and produce results, is a demand of our constitution; is needful to the maintenance of virtue; and surely is needful to the recovery of the dissolute and vicious. Without this, the other means of discipline would surely fail, or would only half complete their work. The health of both body and mind is dependent on purpose and exertio of labor . And the habit of industry,nurtured and strengthened by years of trial in our institution, will not only be a safeguard by a youth when he goes forth from us, but will be his assurance of independence and position in his after life.[95]

---

[93] *Public Document 24*, 1861, p.5.

[94] *Public Document 23*, *1858*, pp.8-10.

[95] *Loc.cit*. On the problem of masturbation in prisons see Lewis, *op.cit*.,p.131.

A precise and tightly packed daily schedule provided one means of assuring that no hands would be idle.[96] Another was to engage the boys in productive labor. Farming, it was generally agreed, was the best possible occupation; but only the most reliable boys could be trusted on the school farm. Until 1860 shoe-making was the occupation in which the largest number of boys was employed; but in the 1860's it was dropped and chair-making emphasized in its place. In 1863 roughly 20% of the boys worked on the school farm; this comprised 75% of those living in the farm houses. About thirty per cent "were employed in sewing and knitting;" about 22% in "chair-work;" and roughly 22% in "various domestic avocations." The chair-making was performed for a contractor who paid the school but 1¼ cents per hour for the labor of each boy.[97]

The strategies employed within the reform school were a means of attacking the problems of crime, poverty and social disorder through re-making the individual delinquent. But by the mid-1860's the reports of the trustees of the reform school and the Board of State Charities reflected a realization that social reform must come through "enlightenment of conscience" of the prosperous and law-abiding as well as of the individual offender; the trustees and the Board used their reports not only as means for making recommendations to the legislature but also as a spark to kindle social conscience. The trustees concluded their 1865 report with an exhortation more pointed than any they had previously made:

---

[96] Senate Document 6, 1849, pp.9-10:
Rise at 5 or 5½ o'clock, according to the season of the year - and, after attending to their morning duties, repair to the school room, where they labor from 7 to 10; school from that time to 12; then one hour for play and dinner; commence work again at 1, and work till 4, when they have another hour for play and supper. From 5 to 7 is for school, and from then till their bedtime, is for examination of the misdemeanors of the day, moral instruction, and devotional exercises.

[97] Board of State Charities (Secretary's Report), 1865, p.176.

> Think of it, citizens of Massachusetts, who are living in the midst of luxury and splendor, there are boys, perhaps within a stone's throw of your stately residences, whose heads press no downy pillow, who have no resource when the shades of night are creeping on, but to crawl under the shelter of some friendly pile of lumber, by chance to find a more luxurious couch in a hayloft, or in company with criminals, old and young, to seek the station-house. Think of it, mothers, who tenderly provide your beloved daughters with all that money can buy, who bless their slumbers with prayers, and shield them so far as you may, from every temptation,- there are in the community daughters with souls as white. . .who know not where to lay their heads; who never sit at table to eat an orderly meal; whose ragged dress is insufficient to preserve the remnants of modesty which have survived evil association; and whose slumbers are made horrible by oaths and curses, instead of being sweetened with prayers and blessings. What can they do but enter on the road which leads to destruction?[98]

What indeed? The Board of State Charities and Frank Sanborn hinted at an answer. The Board revealed that their stress on the "importance of having the people understand fully the causes of difference in social condition" was to exhort the people themselves to "take interest and direct action in social improvement, by levelling from below upward." Wherever exists the "degree of poverty which excludes education, which abases and finally destroys self-respect, which breeds diseases, indolence and vice," Frank Sanborn warned ominously, "property is unsafe and morals are weakened. . . ." Especially pernicious was the accompaniment of poverty by "a heartless and unscrupulous class of wealthy men, who foolishly su ppose their wealth to repose on the degredation of the poor." Against "a society so constituted," continued Sanborn, "the Divine Judge" twice in modern history "issued his terrible decree - in the first French and the last American revolution. If we now fail to read His laws, it is not because they have not been promulgated in fire and blood, with terrors greater than those of Sinai."[99]

---

[98] Public Document 20, 1865, p.14.

Sanborn, in the dislocations immediately following the Civil War, wanted to arouse the people, "To secure fair wages to every laborer, to discourage monopolies, foster education, and promote temperance. . . ."[100] To Sanborn it was a question of education, of public enlightenment. If "our people would give as much attention to other principles and laws of sociology, as they have given to the department of politics," claimed Sanborn, public institutions "would excel" and the conditions of potential social disaster would be elminated.[101] The fears of the Board and of Sanborn represented confessions that the common schools, the reform school and other charitable institutions had failed. They had been created as strategies for coping with the problems of social and economic transformation, but in spite of often lavish expenditure of money and rhetoric the problems mounted in scope and intensity. Some of the reasons for the failure of public charitable institutions to perform miracles are illustrated by the problems encountered in the reform school. In fact, the problems of the reform school defined the outer limits of achievement for innovations based on the flawed theories of mid-nineteenth century reformers.

---

[99] Board of State Charities(Secretary's Report},1866, p.219.

[100] Ibid., 1865, p.410.

[101] Board of State Charities, Report, 1866, xviii.

Size was the first major problem of the reform school. Designed for three hundred, the enrollment quickly exceeded this number and an extension had to be constructed. Even the extension was overcrowded; in 1857 and 1858, the years of maximum enrollment, there were over six hundred inmates. The problem of accomodating and managing the enrolled boys was intensified in 1859 when Daniel Creeden, one of the inmates, burned the new extension to the ground.[102] The burning highlighted another problem. Boys were usually committed to the reform school for their minority and given an alternative, shorter sentence in a prison. A sentence of this length was particularly onerous because boys were committed, for the most part, between the ages of ten and fourteen.[103] Frequently boys tried

---

[102] On the size issue see, Second Legislative Report, p.11; *Senate Document 12,1850*, p.3; *Public Document 15, 1857*, p.4; *Public Document 23,1859*, pp.3, 7-10 and 14-15.

[103] Ages of boys committed 1864-65 and all previous years:

Age	# past year	#previously	Total
6	0	5	5
7	0	18	18
8	3	82	85
9	5	174	179
10	4	304	308
11	21	404	425
12	14	467	481
13	27	526	553
14	11	486	497
15	0	532	532
16	0	122	122
17	0	40	40

to appear so incorrigible that they would be ejected from the reform school and sent to the prison, from which they would be released in considerably less time. Creeden had been deliberately trying to be thrown out. The fire prompted changes in the legislation concerning committal. The alternative sentence was abolished, and to alleviate the size problem the power of committal was removed from local magistrates and placed solely with the county and probate courts.[104]

Finding suitable apprenticeships was another problem. Part of the difficulty, claimed the superintendent in 1851, was that older modes of apprenticeship were changing. Previously the apprentice had lived as a son with the family,which was concerned with his intellectual and moral, as well as occupational, training. Now masters treated apprentices like any other employees; they could live where they liked,and, outside of working hours, do as they pleased. This kind of situation scarcely provided the parental restraint and familial influence the reformers sought from apprenticeship.[105] One town particularly singled out for poor treatment of apprentices was Marblehead, where quite a number of former inmates were placed. In Marblehead the boys were left virtually

---

The shift away from the older and younger age groups was deliberate. It was felt that the school was inappropriate for the younger, and that over 14 reformation was probably impossible. Public Document 20,1865, p.37.

[104] Public Document 19, 1864, pp.184-186.

[105] Senate Document 12, 1850, p.19.

unsupervised and provided with almost no form of intellectual or moral education; such a situation was conducive to a return to old, vicious habits and could undo the work of the reform school.[106]

Simply finding enough people to take apprentices was also a problem; and most difficult of all was locating sufficient farmers. Those who ran the school argued that the location of suitable and sufficient apprenticeships and the visiting of apprenticed boys required the appointment of an additional member of the staff. In their proposals the origins of the parole officer were evident. Another proposal to cope with the apprenticeship problem contended that the State should offer to pay families willing to take and adequately care for a boy. The payments, proponents held, would be less than the cost of the boy's upkeep within the reform school; and the proposal, thus, offered an economical way for increasing the amount of familial influence, the best strategy for the reformation of the boy.[107] Depression and Civil War also brought difficulties. During the depression of 1857 the superintendent had difficulty finding paid employment for the boys and idleness was the result.[108] The situation persisted, and some years later Frank Sanborn, visiting the reform school, was horrified to find large numbers of boys with absolutely nothing to do. The Civil War did not bring economic problems; but the public agitation reached the reform school, which had to cope with a sudden spurt of escapes.[109]

---

[106] House Document 2, 1857, p.43.

[107] Loc. cit., and Senate Document 2, 1859, pp.14-16.

[108] Public Document 23, 1858, p.15.

Another non-economic problem was discipline. The reform school had four different superintendents in its first sixteen years. Three had left, claimed Sanborn, from differences of opinion with the trustees concerning discipline.[110] Mr. Starr, who served from 1857-1861, was the least effectual. Part of Starr's troubles was attributable to the overcrowding, at its peak during his tenure; but his ineffectual and somewhat negligent administration contributed to the ability of Daniel Creeden and his five associates to carry out their work of arson. At his inauguration Starr had told the boys, "I come here to do you good." Why had he come to do them good? "There can be but one motive to induce a person to enter upon this work with any prospect of success; and this is love, - love of those committed to our charge, love of one another, love of the right, love to God and love to man."[111] Apparently, love was not enough. Three years later Starr's long solitary confinement of a group of boys manacled in dismal, unsanitary cells became a public scandal and a grounds for his censure by the Governor's Council.[112]

---

[109] Public Document 24, 1862, pp.4-5.

[110] Board of State Charities(Secretary's Report), 1865, p.177.

[111] Services at the Induction of William E. Starr, op.cit., pp.8-9.

[112] The report to the Governor's Council asserted:
The material facts were:-
Ist That the inmates of the school had been imprisoned in solitary

The theory of reform through loving, parental government and constant employment was an ideal; but it was an ideal that the reform school could only approximate. Except for the boys who lived in the family units set up in 1861, the reform school was, in reality, more like a prison than either a home or a school.

> lodges; some of them manacled for periods varying from 8 to 16 weeks.
> 2nd That the cells were without sufficient light or air.
> 3rd That no official record whatever was kept, by which the character, duration or cause of such punishment can be ascertained.
> 4th That it appears to the Committee that these punishments were inflicted by the Superintendent alone, without interference by the Trustees.
> 5th That authority to punish in the manner described had been delegated and exercised by subordinate officers.
> 6th That it was stated by the Superintendent,that he had employed a boy, as a spy upon these offenders both before and after their confinement; and the Committee believed that the boy so employed, had advised and assisted in the commission of some of the offenses for which punishment was inflicted and;
> 7th That neither the cells nor the prisoners were exhibited to the Governor and Council, except upon direct questions put to the Superintendent after the general examination had been finished, and the Lieutenant Governor and some C ouncillors had left the institution.

In the same report Nathaniel Banks added, "I have visited most of the Houses of Correction and Jails and the State Prison and never found one such cell; there is no such punishment inflicted in any prison of the State. . . .they were unfit habitation for boys or men. They were impure, without sufficient light or air." Records of the Governor's Council, 1860, pp.205-207, manuscript, Massachusetts State Archives.

That the reform school faced problems of size, apprenticeship, employment and discipline is not surprising. A more unpredictable difficulty was posed by parents. In 1854-55, for instance, "about four-sevenths" of the boys charged with stubborness "were committed on the complaint of their parents or relatives, or at their request." To some extent, revealed the following year's report, "the complaint was made, to prevent a more serious charge being preferred by others."[113] But a more malignant reason was unearthed by the committee investigating public charities:

> The experience of nine years shows that it is necessary to adopt some means to prevent abuse of the benevolence of the State, in maintaining the institution at Westborough. The place is styled a'school', purposely to relieve its inmates from the stigma of criminals; it follows that parents sometimes are not unwilling to send their sons thither, especially those that are trouble - some, in order to save the expense of keeping them at home. If the affection of natural parents always prevented this (which it does not), guardians and step-fathers would still frequently treat their wards thus harshly, in some instances, even, as appeared before us in evidence, actually taking pains to tempt the poor boy into the commission of some technical offense, - assault or theft, perhaps, -in order to be able to carry him before a magistrate and procure his committal to the State Reform School at Westborough.[114]

The Mephistophelean nature of some parents was reflected in still another way; greedy for the money from their children's earnings they either tried to obtain their release or to lure them away from beneficent apprenticeships. Claimed the trustees in 1864, the state contained a a class of parents who "apparently care little for their children until they are large enough to earn something." Then they "endeavored to procure their release from this institution. . . ." Faced with the grasping natural parent, the State, the adopted parent, asserted its superior claim: "we have felt it to be our duty generally to decline giving them up to their parents, and have placed as many of them as we could, with farmers and mechanics in the country."[115]

---

[113] House Document 2, 1856, p.36.

[114] Senate Document 2, 1859, p.15.

Superintendents, finally, were troubled by what they considered unfair publicity. Frank Sanborn's report, claimed Superintendent Allen, had unfairly claimed that the earnings of the boys had declined and thatan over emphasis was being given to intellectual education. Changes in the nature of contracting and payment, countered Allen, had accounted for the apparent decrease in earnings; the number of hours per day devoted to schooling had remained constant throughout the history of the school.[116] The desire to make a prison pay was frequently a tenet of those opposing the more humanitarian reforms in prisons.[117]

---

[115] Public Document 20, 1864, pp.3-4.

[116] Sanborn's charges are in Board of State Charities(Secretary's Report), 1865, pp.174-176. Allen's answer is in Public Document 20,1865, p.9. Allen claimed that the decrease in earning was the result of the fact that the State Board of Agriculture turned over the running of the school farm to the Reform School itself. Previously, the Board of Agriculture had paid the school ten cents per day for the labor of each boy; now nothing was being received.

[117] Lewis, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

In this sense Sanborn's attack is indeed surprising. The attack on the allegedly inadequate earning of the pupils was probably an expression of general hostility towards the school in its current form. Sanborn was a close associate of Samuel Gridley Howe, who, it has been noted earlier, wrote the report of the Board of State Charities, and Howe, for reasons that will be discussed shortly, had serious reservations about the virtues of reform schools.

Superintendents also complained of a lack of public appreciation of the school. Unmindful of the hundreds of boys who had become virtuous, productive citizens the public pointed with derision, according to complaints, at every instance of the re-arrest of a reform school "graduate."[118] In all probability, skeptical tax-payers wanted some assurance that they were receiving some value for their taxes, and the question behind their complaints is of equal importance to the historian: what were the results of the reform school?

Epilogue: The Results of Reform

Six hundred and twenty-nine ex-inmates of the reform school served in the Civil War. The trustees hailed the behavior of some of these soldiers as evidence of true reformation and in their 1865 reports presented a selection of cases:

---

[118] For complaints about unfair popular opinion see, House Document 2, 1856, p.22 and Public Document 23, 1858, p.33.

> J.G., an orphan, not yet seventeen, who had a sister and three brothers, having left the institution, was faithfully working at at trade. When the call for hundred days' men came, he enlisted, serving his time out, and then enlisted for the war. His pay and bounties were deposited with responsible parties, and when he was mustered out amounted to quite a sum. Before reenlisting, he sought his sister, found her at work in Boston, and gave her $25. His brothers, aged respectively nine, seven, and five years, he found in an almshouse. He secured a good place for the eldest with his master, with the opportunity of attending school, agreeing to pay his board. He was advised to leave the two youngest where they were for one year longer, when he intends to obtain situations for them. At the close of the war he returned, and is now employed by his former master.
>
> W.H. enlisted in the 35th Massachusetts Regiment, left his bounty with the Superintendent, and was killed at Knowxville, in 1863. His father died about the same time. The mother would have been utterly destitute, but for the money left by this son, which was used to purchase a home.[119]

The other cases reported were similar. In his report for 1857 the superintendent proudly noted that one of the best teachers in the school was an ex-inmate;[120] in the previous year he had noted that three graduates were undertaking a liberal, pre-collegiate education.[121] Surely, too, real reformation must have been the interpretation the superintendent gave a letter sent by an inmate to his mother. In part the letter said:

> It pains me to think how cruel and unjust I have been to you, in disregarding your kind advice. When I think of these things, it makes me feel as if I were unworthy to call you mother; but I hope the time will soon come, when I shall have the pleasure ofseeing you bless the day, that there ever was such an institution as this.[122]

---

[119] Public Document 20, 1865, pp.13-14.

[120] Public Document 15, 1857, p.7.

[121] House Document 2, 1856, p.39.

[122] Senate Document 12, 1850, p.40.

What more could the tax-payers ask? If they inquired about financial advantages, George Boutwell, as usual, had an answer. In his address at the inauguration of the ill-fated Mr. Starr Boutwell observed that the reform school transformed boys from dependent consumers to producers. The labor of a thousand men "reclaimed," he calculated, estimated for a period of "twenty years only, is equal to the labor of twenty thousand men for one year; which, at a hundred dollars each, yields two millions of dollars."[123]

Superintendents also tried to provide more formal demonstrations of the results of the reform school. After the fire of 1859 Mr. Starr realized that he needed to provide evidence for the appeal to the legislature for funds to re-build the burned portion of the school. He therefore traced as carefully as he could the subsequent careers of all former inmates. He concluded:

Whole number of cases investigated	1,653
Turned out badly, 17 per cent	281
Reformed, 83 per cent	1,372

"Turned out badly" meant getting into difficulties with the law. Surely, claimed the superintendent, this was "a better result. . .than the truest friends of the school. . .ever dared to hope for."[124]

Not everyone was convinced. In 1866 the Board of State Charities wondered if those reformed were not those "who naturally tend to virtue" or"who need only removal from vicious associates in order to become virtuous?" Would not "most of them," asked the Board, "have done quite as well if they had been put in the country, without the long and expensive sojourn of years in the reformatory?" Some people, continued the Board, even claimed that apparently good results were achieved "in spite of, rather than by reason of, the influence of the reformatory." Such a person was Mr. Goodspeed, superintendent of the State Almshouse at Bridgewater. Goodspeed, who had personally undertaken the education of many delinquents, asserted, "he would rather take a boy immediately after his sentence by the court, all ragged and dirty, than take the same boy after two or three years' residence in an ordinary house of reformation."[125] Some of Goodspeed's sentiments were most likely shared by Howe, author of the report. In 1854 Howe had unsuccessfully opposed the creation of a girl's reform school at Lancaster. The effect of the congregation of a large number of delinquents in one school, Howe felt, could be productive only of increased vice.[126] In this sense, criticism of reform schools was couched in terms of the criticisms of academies, discussed earlier. Both were seen as potential breeding grounds for immorality.

---

[123] George Boutwell's address at the inauguration of Starr, *op.cit.*, pp.11-12.

[124] *Public Document 23, 1859*, pp.6-7.

---

[125] Board of State Charities, 1866, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

[126] Schwartz, op.cit., pp. 273-274.

In evaluating the reform school, the Board concluded, it was impossible to be guided "by any actual results as yet obtained, and we must rely upon well established general principles of education, and apply these to the case in point."[127] The most important general principle was that the "doctrine of repression as an agency of reformation is about exploded."[128] Because it had to control a large number of delinquent boys, a reform school, whatever its intent, had to be a repressive institution. Needed was a new theory of reformatories, and the heart of this new theory, claimed the Board, was the desire to be "rid of the central establishment altogether; or, at least, to so" reduce "the number of inmates that they will be merely temporary receiving stations."

> The principal feature of the change would be to renounce the attempt to instruct and train the children for any length of time in the reformatory and to commit the charge to private families; or, if they could not be found in sufficient numbers, then to societies of benevolent persons.[129]

The conception of a reform school as solely a reception center had been advocated by Howe in 1854 when he opposed the creation of the girls' reformatory.[130] The reception center concept bore a similar relation to criticism of the reform school that the high school idea did to the criticism of academies. In both instances critics attempted to insure that adolescents would spend only part of their time with peers and that they would have the benefit of the influence and example of a family, the most basic, natural and virtuous human relationship. The controversies concerning the academy and high school and the nature of reform schools reveal again the pervasive concern with adolescence in this period. The proper handling of adolescents, many people seemed to agree, was to prolong dependency, to make sure that the adolescent came into daily contact with a virtuous family. Since morality was internalized by associating with models not by listening to lectures, it was necessary to provide adolescents with a constant example strong enough to curb the passions of youth. And nothing, it was believed, better exemplified morality than a New England family.

---

[127] Board of State Charities, 1866, p. lxxvi.

[128] Ibid., p. lxxvii.

[129] Ibid., p. lxxviii.

[130] Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 273-274.

The reaffirmation of Howe's reservations in 1866 was, in a sense, a claim by the Board that over the last two decades the state had developed a strategy for dealing with urban, juvenile crime that was of uncertain success and unnecessary expense. Two decades of reform schools had not eased the problems of crime and poverty in the Commonwealth; indeed, they had increased in intensity. At the close of nearly two decades of expensive administrative reform the parental state was still searching for a satisfactory means of restoring tranquility and stability to its unruly family.

By the 1860's other institutions had also fared badly. Perkins

Institute had become too large and impersonal;[131] State Insane Asylums built in the flush of optimism had been transformed from therapeutic to custodial institutions;[132] and in New York, at any rate, the prison reform movement was dead.[133]

Writing of the period 1880-1930 Roy Lubove has described a change in social work organization as a transition from cause to function, from the enthusiasm of reformers to the dispassionate performance of professionals circumscribed by bureaucracy.[134] In a sense the transformation from cause to function was the trend that Howe perceived and lamented. In the mid-nineteenth century new institutions started in a blaze of reformist zeal; promoted by talented general reformers like Howe, they expanded more rapidly than any of their founders had anticipated. Expansion was accompanied by the growth of a professional, bureaucratic managerial group: warden of prisons, wardens of reform schools; wardens of asylums and their assistants.[135] In part, bureaucratization was a necessary concomitant of managing large, specialized institutions. But size and professionalism implied the development of the lack of warmth inherent in all large institutions. And, after all, it was warmth that was the essential ingredient in the 1840 formulae for the re-making of criminals, delinquents and the insane. In the absence of warmth and amidst an increase in size, in the transition from cause to function, institutions like Westborough, not completely overburdened by numbers, could do a routine job. Others, like the State mental hospitals, became mere receptacles for human misery.

---

[131] Schwartz, op. cit., p.272.

[132] Dain, op. cit., p.xiv.

[133] Lewis, op. cit., p.256.

[134] Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist, The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930, Cambridge, 1965, passim.

[135] For instance, the first two superintendents of Westborough left to become superintendents of newly founded reform schools elsewhere: Board of State Charities(Secretary's Report), 1865, p.175. Likewise, Dain, op. cit., reports the development of a self-conscious group of psychiatrists, or superintendents of insane asylums.

The course of the educational reform movement as a whole is not as clear cut as that of one institution. But the same trends were visible. By the 1860's the beginning of educational bureaucracy, routine and sterile, was evident, as Part Two has suggested. Moreover, there were other indications that the course of educational reform was losing some of its charismatic charm. During the '60's measures of innovation and spending, like general economic measures, slackened. Of course the Civil War caused dislocation, but it is likely that the slowing started before the war. Compare, too, Joseph White, appointed in 1860, with the three previous secretaries of the Board of Education. Mann, Sears and Boutwell had been poor,rural boys whose ambition and skill raised them to state-wide eminence. All three were important public figures throughout the state when they were appointed secretary of the Board; all three went on to eminent, national positions. They were unusual, talented men, in a word, statesmen. White came from a wealthy, urban family. He had been agent for a large cotton mill before his appointment. He was not at the time of his appointment nor afterwards a figure of much importance in the state, let alone the nation, and he was not a man of outstanding talent.

Another evidence of general reformist retreat was the growing importance of heredity in social thought. To stress that a boy fails to reform because he is innately wicked, or to stress that a child fails to learn because he was born stupid, is to throw in the towel. It is a kind of rationalization that excuses educational failure, that lets the teacher or the reform school warden off the hook. It is an assertion that one expects will follow a period of reformist innovations that did not work. Thus, it is no surprise that the environmentalist optimism of the 1840's was followed by the hereditary pessimism of the 1860's. Environmental stress places the responsibility squarely on the teacher, on the reformer; it is optimistic, it looks to the possible and it is a call for action. Predictably, then, a return to environmental causation marked reformist thought in the 1890's, the next great period of innovation; just as surely this period of over-optimism was followed within a few decades by a return to hereditary arguments under the guise of individual differences. Again, the cycle is upon us: today, during the third great educational reform movement in American history, environment is again the villain. Will the wheel spin fully this time,too?

At the opening of the State Reform School on December 7, 1848, the inmates sang a hymn written for the occasion by the Reverend C.

Thurber of Worcester. Surely, Mr. Thurber's hymn is the best possible summary statement of the assumptions with which Massachusetts reformers commenced the re-making of urban delinquents:

This pleasant home of priceless worth -
By friendship's hand is given,
To train the erring sons of earth,
For usefulness and Heaven:
The place where little wanderers come,
And taste the sweets of friends and home.

The hapless boy who has no guide,
Or brutal, fiendish one,
From Virtue's path has stepped aside,
Or wicked act has done;
This nursery home receives with joy,
And makes the child a virtuous boy.

Within the home of want and woe,
The boy of promise sighs,
He thinks the haughty world his foe,
And quick for vengeance flies;
This sweet abode unfolds its door,
And soothes him till he strays no more.

The wayward youth that spurns control,
And in dishonor gropes,
That wings with grief a parent's soul,
And ruins all his hopes,
Retires beyond the furious storm,
And gathers strength for sweet reform.

Kind father, wreathe thy blandest smiles,
Around this sweet retreat,
That it may win from folly's wiles,
The little wanderer's feet;
Then from this guardian home will rise
The good and great, refined and wise.[136]

Mid-nineteenth century Massachuestts reformers could not distinguish clearly between a relationship and a cause. Inextricably bound together, they perceived, were cities, crime, poverty, intemperance, immigration, parental vice and lack of education. Which factor, if any, underlay the rest? They had, as we do today, no answer; instead, they tried to break the vicious circle by providing the youthful products of urban depravity with a change of circumstances: a combination home and school in a rural setting. A bad environment had produced a bad boy; a good environment would produce a good boy. The theory was simple, but at least it was democratic. The moral potential of all boys was equal. Advocates of the reform school considered their theory proved by statistics that indicated most ex-inmates had not been re-arrested. Others perceived the inadequacy of the theory and the supposed proof. Boys were bad only partly because they grew up in unfavorable surroundings; they were bad mostly because they were inferior. They had inherited the pernicious habits and tendencies acquired by their parents. Yet the reformers who advocated the new theory were not completely pessimistic; they offered a vague optimism based on parental love and the natural recuperative powers of the body. They, too, proposed a change in circumstances as the key to reform. Only they perceived the weakness in the statistical evidence offered as proof of the worthiness of the reform school and advocated a more economical and, they predicted, more effective system. In one way the Board of State Charities went beyond the earlier reformers; it called for the removal of those conditions that tempted individuals to acquire vices capable of hereditary transmission. Two or three decades of mounting social problems, reflected in increased rates of pauperization and crime, had given reformers a heightened perception of the evils they needed to combat. However, the assumptions they brought to the task of reform limited their effectiveness; all problems became essentially problems of education, education of the public in the laws of sociology, education of the delinquent in the laws of morality. In its broadest sense, reformers equated education with all learning and hence with home as well as school But their writings clearly implied and often stated, that the home was the scene of the wrong sort of learning, and the problem of education became the marshaling of social resources other than the family for the inculcation of a commitment to virtue. Only in the educational area, in fact, in the reform of human nature rather than in the reform of social systems, were reformers willing to apply c oercion or conceive radically new solutions. Unfortunately, education by itself was inadequate. More than that, the diffusion of an utopian and essentially unrealistic ideology that stressed education as the key to social salvation created a smokescreen that actually obscured the depth of the social problems it proposed to blow away and prevented the realistic formulation of strategies for social reform.

---

[136] The poem is inserted between pp.440 and 441 of Robert Rantoul's autobiography, mss., Beverly Historical Society. In Rantoul's handwriting on the poem is, "Sung by the boys (inmates) at the dedication of the house at Westborough, December, 1848."

Conclusion. Educational Reform: Myths and Limits

Urban education is a fashionable cause, today as only twice before in the American past.[1] The second great outpourring of reform spirit upon the urban schools was the progressive movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first was the educational revival of the mid-nineteenth century, the movement that has formed the subject of this study. All three movements to improve the urban schools have been part of a broader attempt to solve the problems of industrial society. The extent to which those problems persist forms an ironic epilogue to the story of the optimism and efforts of earlier reformers.

Today, as in the first great reformist outburst, a variety of motives impel reformers, but the similarities between the movements is striking. In much the same way as James Bryant Conant, the earliest urban schoolmen, like Horace Mann, were stirred to action by the "social dynamite" they saw in the slums.[2] In both instances the reform effort has been spearheaded by the socially and intellectually prominent concerned for the presevation of domestic tranquillity and an ordered,, cohesive society. In both cases this group has been joined and supported by middle-class parents anxious over the status of their children and, for the most part, somewhat tardily by the teaching profession, which has had its own impelling motives.[3] Today, of course, the cause of urban reform has been complicated by the racial issue, only tangentially important in the ante-bellum North. Because of the racial issue, many urban middle-class parents have had an ambivalent attitude toward reform, seeking to better their schools but to keep them white, and thus dissenting from one important set of goals formulated by reform leaders. Convsersely, spokesmen for minority groups have been far more active in the cause of reform than before.

---

[1] I omit the Lancasterian phase, first, because I am concerned with movements specifically directed at urban education in periods of industrialization and, second, because my impression is that educational reform then was not as much a part of a larger attempt at social reform, not as much a "cause."

[2] James Bryant Conant, Slums and Suburbs, New York, 1961, p.2.

Yet basic similarities remain. We have still to see a movement driven by a desire to bring joy and delight to the life of the individual, to enrich experience solely for the purpose of making life more full and lovely. The goals of both movements, quite to the contrary, have been extrinsic; they have stressed the needs of society and the economy. They have also been utilitarian, stressing the concrete cash value of schooling to the individual. In both movements goals have been formulated with scant regard to the indigenous culture, even the aspirations, of the working class groups to be reformed. Very largely both movements of urban reform have been impositions; communal leaders have mounted an ideological and noisy campaign to sell education to an often skeptical, sometimes hostile and usually uncomprehending working class. The reformers have been determined to foist their innovations upon the community, if necessary by force; when permissiveness failed in the 1840's, the state passed compulsory school laws in the 1850's. Today, as drop-outs ignore the economic statistics supplied by the Office of Education and the Department of Labor, some people call for the extension of compulsory schooling to age eighteen.

---

[3] Two prominent educators who are exceptions to the "tardy" generalization are James Carter and Francis Parker.

The limits of forced and essentially conservative reform have been apparent in both the previous attempts to improve urban education. One consequence has been the estrangement of the school from the life of the working class community. In the mid-nineteenth century reformers harangued the masses, excoriated parents, shuddered at immigrants. Ignoring the reactions of the people to be reformed they forced, fast and hard, new institutions that soon were made compulsory. Out of deference to religious rivalry, sectarian teaching was banned; but the cultural attitudes of the reformers were expressed in their pedagogical theories, in textbooks, in the training they gave to teachers, in their reports: all said to the child and parent from the working class, "You are vicious, immoral, shortsighted and thoroughly wrong about most things. We are right; we shall show you the truth."

Literacy was not required to pick up the message, neither was sophistication. It takes no background in social psychology to imagine the feelings of those who became the objects of reformist diatribes. Little has changed; despite the intellectual's acceptance of cultural relativity, first apparent in the work of many of the intellectual reformers of the progressive era, it has been the mentality of cultural absolutism that has persisted. Be it in the outraged cries of professional patriots or the indignant wrath of censors who find pornography on every page, one gets the impression that, supported by the public, most people concerned with schools are as sure they see moral truth as were Horace Mann and the founders of the state reform school.

In both earlier reform movements professionalization had some unfavorable consequences. In the mid-nineteenth century teachers staked the rationale for their own existence and their increasing command of community resources to an implausible ideology that assigned them the critical role in the salvation of individuals and of society. As the ideology became ever more divorced from reality, as crime and poverty increased despite the extension of schooling, teachers turned inward, and their growing network of bureaucracies within a couple of decades became private worlds, sterile and rigid. Lawrence Cremin has shown eloquently the fate of progressive education when the educators turned inward and deliberately cut themselves off from the coalition of reformers that had been trying to break through the crust of sterility and rigidity in which urban education had become trapped. The roots of the movement shrivelled, and educators again were talking more and more in terms that bore little relevance to the world around them.[4] Once more, in the past few years, education has been infused with an element of zeal, it has become once again a cause as the non-professionals have taken an interest and driven spurs into lethargic bureaucracies. But this movement has just recently begun. Must it follow the course of the last two?

Even if disappointing, it will be fascinating to watch the movement unfold. As we saw in the last part of this study, there exists one especially good indicator of the strength of the reformist cause. In the 1830's and '40's reform started in a passionate blaze ofoptimism resting on the assumption that environment has prime influence in forming mind and character. The beginning of disenchantment in the sixties was signalled by the appearance of theories stressing the importance of heredity. Whatever scientific basis new theorizing may have had, clearly it provided a rationalization for failure, an excuse for some relaxation of effort. When reform began anew late in the century, the typical credo was a variant of reform darwinism that used evolutionary theory to argue the power of mind over nature and the primacy over environment over heredity. When the theory of individual differences became popular, it was based on scientific experiments; nevertheless, it was again an hereditary theory, and it would probably be possible to plot a rough curve between its ascendance and the decline of reform. Once again, environment has become the rage, the commitment of reformers. If it again passes from fashion, if we view a strong and pervasive reassertion of hereditary stress, then we shall know that this reform movement has gone the course of its predecessors.

---

[4] Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957, New York, 1961. See, e.g., p.350.

One danger then is disenchantment. Educators have always been too optimistic, especially in periods of reform. Repeatedly we have been asked to believe that education would usher in a new and better society. To ask that a little skepticism and realism temper the messianic tendencies of schoolmen is not to downgrade education. By itself education would not create the morality of an idealized countryside in the heart of the city; but this is a fact that mid-nineteenth century education promoters refused to see, and by refusing to see this fact they obscured the depth of social problems and became incapable of formulating effective strategies of social reform. Of course, they had reasons for their blindness. Aside from the educators themselves, the most vocal advocates of school reform were the very people providing the talent and money that helped usher in an industrial society. Deeply ambivalent towards the society for which they were responsible, social leaders sought for innovations that would simultaneously promote economic growth and prevent the consequences that industrialism had brought in other societies, especially England. Education became the means for achieving this end. To have looked long and hard at the flaws in their ideology, or to have compared the goals of their movement with its achievements, was not possible for these promoters. It would have raised too many haunting doubts, too many questions about the real nature of their own impact upon society. Educators, as we have seen, likewise had too great a personal stake in the reform movement to admit the possibility that schools were impotent to alone cure social disease.

Here, then, is another danger. When educational reform becomes too bound up with personal and group interests, it loses the capacity for self-criticism. It can be a dazzling diversionary activity turning heads away from the real nature of social problems. It can become a vested interest in its own right, so pious and powerful that it can direct public scorn to anyone who doubts. But the doubters are essential; for someone must try to keep the claims of education in proper perspective, to loose the hold of interest upon the cause of reform. This has yet to be done. But the notion of a war on poverty, a many sided attack in which education is a component, not the only weapon, is promising. Still, the educational balloon in American has a way of getting loose from its mooring and sailing high, away from its companions. To keep it on a long and flexible but securely tied string is one of the great problems facing urban reformers today.

The thrust of this study has been to try to dissolve the myths enveloping the origins of popular education in America. Very simply, the extension and reform of education in the mid-nineteenth century was not a potpourri of democracy, rationalism and humanitarianism. It was the attempt of a coalition of the social leaders, status-anxious parents and status hungry educators to impose education, each for their own reasons, upon a reluctant community. But why pierce such a warm and pleasant myth? Because, first of all, by piercing through the vapor of piety we have been able to see certain fundamental patterns and problems in the course of American urban educational reform. We know better of what to beware. Because, secondly, to confront earlier urban reform is to dispel the kind of nostalgic romanticism present in even so acerbic a critic as Paul Goodman.[5] Our reform movements must not be inspired by a vision of a once vital and meaningful schooling to whose nature if not specific features we must return. We must face the painful fact that this country has never, on any large scale, known vital urban schools, ones which embrace and are embraced by the mass of the community, which formulate their goals in terms of the joy of the individual instead of the fear of social dynamite or the imperatives of economic growth. We must realize that we have no models; to truly reform we we must conceive and build anew.

---

[5] Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Mis-education*, New York,1964,pp.178-180.

Appendix A
Massachusetts Social, Economic and Educational Statistics

Table 1. Growth of Massachusetts Population, 1810-1860

Year	Population(to nearest thousand)	Percent Increase Preceding Decade
1810	472,000	9.3
1820	523,000	8.7
1830	610,000	15.2
1840	738,000	14.0
1850	994,000	30.8
1860	1,231,000	23.8

(from Percy Wells Bidwell, "Population Growth in Southern New England, 1810-1860," Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association, New Series, No. 120, December, 1917, p. 813)

Table 2. Number of Alien Passengers Landed at Boston and Charlestown, 1831-1855

Year	Number
1831	1,417
1835	3,168
1840	5,361
1845	10,281
1850	26,612
1855	17,735

(from Massachusetts Senate Documents, No.2., January, 1859, pp.142-143)

Table 3. Concentration of Population in Urban Communities, Southern New England

Groups	1810	1840	1860
All towns and cities			
Population	811,000	1,157,000	1,866,000
Number of towns and cities	437	479	526
I. Towns and Cities with a population greater than 10,000			
Number	3	9	26
Population	56,000	214,000	681,600
Percentage of total population	6.9	18.5	36.5
II. Towns with a population 3,000-10,000			
Number	49	74	129
Population	210,300	340,000	620,700
Percentage of total population	25.9	29.4	33.8
III. Towns with a population less than 3,000			
Population	544,700	602,730	536,700
Number	385	396	371
Percentage of total population	67.1	52.1	30.1

(from Bidwell, *op.cit.*, p. 816)

Table 4. Value of Agricultural Products as Percentage of Value of Manufactured Goods

Year	Percentage
1845	34
1855	17
1865	14

(computed from statistics in John G. Palfrey, Statistics of the Condition and Products of Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts. . .1845, Boston, 1846; Francis DeWitt, Statistical Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts. . .1855, Boston, 1856; and Oliver Warner, Statistical Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts, . . .1865, Boston, 1866)

Table 5. Railroad Mileage in Massachusetts, 1835-1860

Year	Mileage
1835	113
1840	318
1845	567
1850	1,035
1855	1,264
1865	1,264

(from Edward C. Kirkland, Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900, Cambridge, 1948, v.1, p.284)

Table 6. Ratio of Value of Goods Manufactured to Capital Invested

Type of Goods	1845	1855	1865
Cotton	.65	.81	1.63
Wool	1.58	1.65	3.28
All types	1.94	2.13	2.91

(from Palfrey, op.cit.; De Witt, op. cit.; and Warner, op. cit.)

Table 7. Massachusetts Educational Statistics, 1840-1865

	1840	% Change	1845	% Change	1850
#public schools	3,072	13	3,475	12	3,870
#students,winter	142,222	17	174,270	12	194,403
#teachers	6,306	20	7,582	11	8,427
#male teachers	2,378		2,585		2,442
#female teachers	3,928		4,997		5,985
male/female teachers	.61		.52		.41
av. length schools mos. and days	7-10		7-25		7-12
av. male teacher salary	$33.08	-4	$31.76	10	34.89
av. female teacher salary	$12.75	3	$13.15	10	14.42
#high schools	18				47
%towns complying with high school law	36.4				55.3
#incorporated academies	78		67		67
#pupils at incorporated academies	3,701		3,726		3,717
#unincorporated academies,private schools,etc.	1,368		1,091		845
#pupils at unincorporated academies,etc.	28,635		24,318		19,534
all academy pupils/all public school pupils	.22		.16		.12
$raised for schools through taxation	$477,221		$611,652		$864,668
school tax rate(mills per dollar of valuation)	1.59		2.04		1.44
per pupil expenditure	2.71	12	3.04	49	4.52
Mean average attendance ratio	.59		.73		.72
Valuation of property in Massachusetts	$299,878,329				$597,936,995
Cost of Living indx (1913= 100)	60		54		54

Table 7 Continued

	% Change	1855	% Change	1860	% Change	1865
#public schools	11	4,215	11	4,487	6	4,749
#students,winter	7	207,709	5	217,334	6	229,514
#teachers	12	9,447	9	10,311	7	11,002
#male teachers		2,114		1,908		1,377
#female teachers		7,333		8,403		9,625
male/female teachers		.29		.23		.14
av. length schools mos. and days		7-16		7-18		7-17
av.male teacher salary	19	$41.45	22	$50.56	8	$54.77
av.female teacher salary	20	$17.29	10	$19.08	14	$21.82
#high schools		87		102		108
%towns complying with high school law		64.2		67.2		68.0
#incorporated academies		71		65		59
#pupils at incorporated academies		4,716		3,561		3,190
#unincorporated academies,private schools,etc.		646		640		682
#pupils at unincorporated academies,etc.		17,571		15,933		21,334
all academy pupils/all public school pupils		.11		,09		.11
$raised for schools through taxation		$1,137,407		$1,428,476		$1,782,624
school tax rate		1.92		1.59		1.80
per pupil expenditure	19	5.36	12	6.55	12	7.36
mean av. attendance ratio		.74		.75		.73
valuation of property in Massachusetts				$897,795,326		$1,009,709,652
cost of living index (1913=100)		67		61		102

(Most of the figures in the table are from the annual reports of the secretaries of the Board of Education. The figures for high school establishment are from Alexander James Inglis, *The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts*, New York, 1911, pp. 42-45. The cost of living index is from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, Washington, 1960, p. 127.)

APPENDIX B. Communities and Education: An Analysis of Variance[*]

---

[*] The statistical computations in this chapter were partially supported by a National Science Foundation Grant, GP - 2723.

Even a cursory examination of Massachusetts educational statistics in the mid-nineteenth century reveals a wide variation between communities. Then as now, some towns expended more of their resources on education than others; some had higher per pupil expenditures; some introduced more innovations; in some more pupils were in private schools. Today one would expect that these variations between communities were not random. One would look at the kind of town, the nature of the population, the degree of wealth, the economic features; one would look at these characteristics and predict certain associations between them and educational measures. But were there significant associations in the mid-nineteenth century? Were there significant patterns of relationships between educational and social, demographic and economic features of Massachusetts communities? This is the basic question that this appendix attempts to answer.

If one were to investigate the communal correlates of educational measures today, one would predict that certain patterns would emerge. So, too, one can make certain predictions about the associations that will be found in an investigation of the same topic a century ago. The first chapter of this study has revealed that in the state as a whole measures of educational change increased at roughly the same time as measures or urban and industrial growth. Therefore, one hypothesis is that an increase in measures of educational expenditure and measures of innovation (feminization and high school establishment) within a community will be positively associated with measures of urban-industrial growth. This hypothesis raises certain questions. Massachusetts was marked by an increase in population concentration, manufacturing and property valuation. Were all three associated with each other?

Were all three related to educational measures in the same way? Were the extent and pace of urbanism and industrialism equally related to educational measures? Were educational measures associated with each other? That is, were the development of high schools, the feminization of the teaching force and measures of educational expenditure all positively associated? Did high teacher salaries, high per pupil expenditure and high school tax rate tend to occur together?

The increase in educational measures throughout the state was accompanied by a decrease in the value of agricultural goods produced relative to the value of manufactured articles. It can be predicted, then, that all measures of educational innovation and expenditure will be negatively associated with agricultural variables. Since the number and enrollment of incorporated academies remained relatively stable an additional hypothesis is that little relationship will be found between these schools and social and economic measures. On the other hand, the number and enrollment of unincorporated academies and private schools dropped markedly during the time that high schools were being established. This suggests that unincorporated academies declined in communities establishing public high schools. But was there a relationship between academies of either type and the absence of a high school in a community? Was there any relationship between any particular occupational group and the presence of academies of either type? A variety of statistical tests provide evidence related to these hypotheses and answers to these questions.

I. High School Defined

The presence or absence of a high school provides the clearest criterion for dividing communities into categories. In mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts what was a high school? The Manchester school committee answered precisely.

> A High School is no ambiguous thing. It is a term that possesses an exact and well defined meaning. It is neither a primary or a grammar school, nor a compound of the two, without any regard to age or attainment, but a school distinct by itself, to which there is no access except through the two first. Thus, the High School has been defined for years past and this definition of them is recognized in our Revised Statutes (1835) and whenever schools are spoken of, 'for the whole town,' as the saying is.[1]

The high school, usually attended by students from fourteen to nineteen years old, was designed as an institution roughly intermediate between the common school and the college.[2] Some people intended the high school to provide, primarily, a terminal education for students entering commercial and technical occupations.[3] Others emphasized preparation for college.[4] However, curricula and school reports indicate that the high school, even in this period, was acquiring both functions.[5]

---

[1] Alexander James Inglis, *The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts*, New York, 1911, p. 36.

[2] On the definition of the high school see *ibid*., pp. 35-37.

[3] See, *e.g.*, *Winchendon School Report, 1864-65*, p. 24.

[4] See, *e.g.*, *Eighteenth Report*, p. 259.

[5] For details of curricula see Inglis, *op. cit*., pp. 71-78, and Emit Duncan Grizzell, *Origin and Development of the High School in New England Before 1865*, Philadelphia, 1922, pp. 286-330. The following passage from the Brookline school committee report, cited in *Eighteenth Report*, p. 205, reveals the concept of the dual role of the high school. The committee maintained that the high school would contain "different classes of pupils." Thus,

> The proper functions of a High School would seem to be, first, to continue the education of that portion of the Grammar school pupils of both sexes, whose circumstances allow, and whose talents fit them for further training; and, secondly, to give to those desiring it a thorough preparation for the College, or the Scientific, or the Normal School.

The high school, thus, was defined by its function and place in the hierarchy of the school system. The high school was also defined by law; it was to be open to all the inhabitants of a town and administered by a town committee, as opposed to a district committee. In addition, the curriculum was to include certain specified subjects and the school was to be maintained at least ten months a year, "exclusive of vacations."[6] A Massachusetts law of 1827 contained the first legal provisions for high schools. The law required towns of a certain size to maintain an institution later termed a high school, but the provisions of this law were alternately suspended and reinvoked until 1859 when they became a permanent feature of the state's legislation.[7] There were to be two grades of high schools, according to the 1827 law. Lower grade high schools were to be established in towns of five hundred or more families and higher grade ones in towns of four thousand or more inhabitants. In the latter, Latin and Greek were to be included in the curriculum. In 1859 Latin was also required in lower grade high schools. Inglis, in his book on the Massachusetts high schools claims that the definition sometimes was applied rather loosely. "Cases are numerous," he wrote, "where we find the name 'High School' applied to higher grades in various districts," and, Inglis continued, "still more frequently in cases where the so-called 'High School' did not offer all of the studies prescribed by law."[8] By no means did all towns required to establish a high school comply with the law. The degree of compliance grew steadily but, by 1865, was still only sixty-eight per cent.

---

[6] Inglis, _op_. _cit_., p. 8.

[7] _Ibid_., pp. 24-34.

[8] _Ibid_., p. 8.

The law which established high schools in 1827 fundamentally altered the administrative control of local education. Historians have treated the 1827 law as paradoxical. They have pointed out that the law at once weakened the district system by stipulating that the high school was to be administered by the town as a whole while, on the other hand, the law strengthened the district system by permitting each district to elect a prudential committeeman who would have considerable power over the schools in his area.[9] Hinsdale resolved the contradiction by noting that the 1827 law was retrogressive, for it released all but seven towns from the provisions of the law of 1789, which had required one hundred and seventy-two towns to maintain a school which taught Latin and Greek. To Hinsdale the 1827 law was a victory for the district system.[10] However, Raymond Culver has pointed out that the 1827 law evolved as a compromise. In the previous year a law had been passed requiring towns to elect school committees to take complete charge of education in each town. But the law was so vehemently opposed that the next year the legislature compromised by allowing the districts to elect prudential committeemen with certain specific privileges and duties.[11] Since most towns did not adhere to the law of 1789 requiring them to maintain a grammar school, the 1827 law was realistic and, probably, intended to insure that some public institution of higher learning would exist in the more populous areas. Moreover, the power which the new law gave to town committees combined with the fact that the prudential committees were established as a concession indicates that the purpose of the 1827 law was to modify the district system, and hence the law's various provisions were consistent with each other.

---

[9] George H. Martin, The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System, New York, 1894, pp. 92 and 97. See Law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Providing for the Instruction of Youth, passed March 10, 1827.

[10] B. A. Hinsdale, Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States, New York, 1913, pp. 16-17.

[11] Raymond Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools, New Haven, 1929, pp. 21-28.

State law prescribed curricula as well as administrative organization. Table 1 lists the legal requirements for the high school curriculum in Massachusetts. Subjects marked with an asterisk, unless otherwise noted, were required only in high schools of the higher grade, that is, ones located in towns containing four thousand or more inhabitants:

Table 1. Legal Requirements for Massachusetts High School Curriculum, 1865[12]

Subject	Date required by Law
United States History	1827
*General History	1827
Algebra	1827
Geometry	1827
Surveying	1827
*Latin	1827 (required in all high schools in 1859)
*Greek	1827
*Logic	1827
Bookkeeping	1835
*French	1857
*Rhetoric	1857
Natural Philosophy	1857
Chemistry	1857
Botany	1857
*Astronomy	1857
*Geology	1857
*Intellectual Science	1857
*Moral Science	1857
Civil Polity	1857
*Political Economy	1857

---

[12] Inglis, _op_. _cit_., pp. 71-73.

Even in this sketchy form the curriculum requirements indicate that the legislature expected the composition as well as the administrative form of education to alter. Until after 1835 the curricular requirements reflect the concerns of a pre-industrial, commercial economy, for the emphasis is on mathematics, bookkeeping and surveying. The addition of the sciences may reflect the perception of the need for additional knowledge related to understanding, controlling and fostering the economic changes in the state. Civil polity, moral science, political economy and intellectual science reflect the importance attributed to education for character development and the fear of social disintegration and the decline of morality, themes discussed elsewhere in this study. The process of curriculum change, it is interesting to observe, seems to have followed the same pattern that has continually marked the growth of the curriculum in America: namely, the process of accretion. Instead of re-thinking the structure and nature of the curriculum as a whole, educators tacked subjects onto the existing course. The high school course at the start of the period, according to Inglis, was generally three years in length and, at the close, commonly four.[13] Most high schools employed, at best, a few teachers, and, considering this fact, the coverage of the legally comprehensive curriculum must have been skimpy, to say the least.

Part of the reason for the inclusion of Latin and Greek in the curriculum undoubtedly was the entrance requirements of the colleges.[14]

---

[13] Ibid., p. 12.

[14] Ibid., pp. 65-70.

However, the preparation of students for college was not the sole purpose of high schools. In many instances the high school was perceived as an institution directly related to the preparation of students for immediate employment. The high school, finally, was the deliberate creation of a law, and, for those interested in beginnings, the Massachusetts school law of 1827 was the legal origin of the American high school. The American comprehensive high school has two outstanding characteristics: it is open to all qualified students within a given area, and it caters to both terminal and college bound students. The high school, characterized by these features, emerged in Massachusetts well before the Civil War.

A division of towns on the criterion of high school establishment immediately reveals one relationship: size. By 1865 every city or town with a population of 6,200 or more did establish a high school; no town with a population of less than 711 did so. For the purposes of this analysis the extremes were eliminated, and the sample became each of the 259 towns between the smallest which had instituted a high school by 1865 and the largest which failed to meet its legal obligation to establish one. These limits were chosen in order to include the possibility of variation within each town. That is, the object was to study the differing patterns of relationships within towns which might or might not have established high schools. Fifty-five of the towns chosen for study were eventually eliminated from consideration because it was not possible to obtain accurate information on all the variables considered. This left a final sample of 204 towns.

Information for each town was gathered for 48 variables, listed below as Table 2.

Table 2. Roster of Variables

1840

1. Population
2. Density of population per square mile
3. Total employed in manufacturing
4. Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, excluding professionals
5. Total employed in agriculture
6. Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees
7. Per capita valuation
8. Number of incorporated academies
9. Number of unincorporated academies
10. Miles from Boston
11. Dependency rate
12. Females as per cent of total number of teachers in winter (feminization)
13. Average monthly salary of male teachers
14. Average monthly salary of female teachers
15. Per pupil expenditure
16. Mills per dollar of valuation raised for school support through taxes (school tax rate)
17. Number employed in commerce
18. Number employed in navigation
19. Number in professions
20. Number over 16 in public schools

1865

21. Population
22. Density of population per square mile
23. Total employed in manufacturing
24. Total employed in non-agricultural occupations
25. Total employed in agriculture
26. Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees
27. Per capita valuation
28. Number of incorporated academies
29. Number of unincorporated academies and private schools
30. Total number of private schools
31. Dependency rate
32. Females as per cent of total number of teachers in winter (feminization)
33. Average monthly salary of male teachers
34. Average monthly salary of female teachers
35. Per pupil expenditure
36. Mills per dollar of valuation raised for school support through taxes (school tax rate)
37. Number of foreign born
38. "Other occupations" (commerce, navigation, some trades)
39. Number of females employed in manufacturing
40. Number over 15 attending public school

41. Number of workers per manufacturing establishment

Increases 1840-1865

42. Increase in population
43. Increase in density
44. Increase in total number employed in manufacturing
45. Increase in total number of non-agricultural employees
46. Increase in total number of agricultural employees
47. Increase in ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees
48. High school establishment by 1865 (coded as 1 for non-establishment, 2 for establishment)

The fact that a legal obligation to establish a high school is not included in the roster of variables requires explanation, for it may be asked: was not the law the most important factor in high school establishment? Was not high school establishment generally the reflection of a legal obligation? If the answer to this question is affirmative, then a detailed analysis of the social and economic factors associated with high school establishment is superfluous. However, it is assumed that the answer to the question is generally negative. First of all, law had not been a particularly effective means of insuring the maintenance of certain kinds of schools in Massachusetts towns. Historians agree that throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the number of towns maintaining grammar schools as required by the law of 1647 modified by the law of 1789 declined quite markedly and that the law was generally not obeyed.[15]

Second, little evidence of the importance of law is provided by an analysis comparing the date that towns were legally required to establish high schools with the date they actually instituted them, as Table 3, compiled from Inglis' results, indicates.[16] Table 3 includes only those towns which by 1865 were required to establish a high school and which met their legal obligation by that date. It does not include those towns which established high schools but were not legally required to do so throughout the period under consideration. Thus, the table, unlike the statistical analysis in the rest of this chapter, is based on all the towns and cities in the state:

---

[15] Ibid., pp. 2-5; B. A. Hinsdale, Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States, New York, 1913, pp. 13-17; Robert Middlekauff, Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth-Century New England, New Haven, 1963, pp. 128-137.

Table 3. Comparison of Date of Legal Obligation and Date of Compliance in High School Establishment

Time period between legal obligation and establishment of a high school (in years)	Number of Towns and Cities
Minus (established before required by law)	29
One	18
Two	3
Three	3
Four	2
Five	3
Six to Ten	5
Eleven to Fifteen	10
Fifteen to Twenty	5
Twenty-one or more	11
Total	89

Of the towns considered in Table 3, nearly one third established a high school before becoming required to do so by law. Twenty-nine per cent did not comply with the law for ten or more years. If a new legal obligation had an immediate impact, how long would it take for a town to establish a high school? Approximation only is possible here; but three years seems reasonable. Eligibility would be ascertained in a census year; one year later the town might vote on establishment at its annual meeting; during the next year preparations for opening could be made; and a third year may be allowed for exigencies. Twenty-seven per cent of the towns fall within the three year limit.

---

[16] Inglis, op. cit., pp. 42-45.

Still, establishment of a high school within three years is no evidence that towns acted because of the law. Establishment even in these towns may have been the reflection of some underlying dimension. Population, for instance, is one obviously important factor. Towns of a certain size were required to establish high schools, and legal obligation, therefore, reflects growth. But population growth itself is related to other social and economic measures. In short, no evidence exists that makes it reasonable to assume that legal obligation was generally the most important factor in high school establishment. On the other hand, so far there is no evidence that legal obligation was not of prime importance. A town may have complied with the law at a later date because at that time the county court decided to enforce the law more stringently, or, as in the case of Beverly discussed in the text, because a group of townspeople brought suit against the town for noncompliance. However, even in cases such as the latter the enforcement by the court or the bringing of suit may reflect, as it did in Beverly, fundamental social and economic alterations within the community. Thus, the role of legal compulsion cannot be tested statistically with any accuracy. It is hard to imagine how compulsion could be entered meaningfully into the roster of variables. More promising, instead, is looking for patterns of relationships between quantitative social and economic measures and high school establishment. If relationships are found, then establishment more safely can be assumed to be primarily the result of factors other than legal compulsion.

Density, population and their increase will be used as measures of urbanism and urbanization. To define urban precisely is, as a recent conference on the historian and the city discovered, probably impossible. Nevertheless, size and concentration of population are aspects of most conceptualizations. A problem is that no precise figure for population size or density can be taken as a minimal standard for urbanism because the term is a relative one. That is, concentrations of population considered urban in one context by virtue of their contrast to surrounding units might not be considered urban in another setting. In this study, urban refers to towns which had a relatively larger and denser population than others in the sample.[17] Five principal sources were used to supply statistical data. They were the United States censuses of 1840 and 1865; the abstracts of Massachusetts school returns for 1840 and 1865; and the Massachusetts state census of industry for 1875.

II. First Relationships

A number of statistical analyses were performed to determine the relationship between the various measures.[18] First, the towns were divided into two groups on the basis of whether or not they had established a high school by 1865. Hereafter these groups will be referred to as high school and non-high school towns.[19] Table 4 presents the means and standard deviations for the two groups and for the sample as a whole:

---

[17] On the problem of the definition of urbanism see, John Burchard, "Some Afterthoughts," in Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds., *The Historian and the City*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 254-257.

[18] Not all the statistical tests performed are discussed in this chapter, which considers only those felt to be most relevant. All analyses discussed in the chapter were performed by computer. For most tests the MSA main link tape and programs were used. For a discussion of these programs and a guide to their usage see, Kenneth J. Jones, *The Multivariate Statistical Analyser*, Cambridge, 1964. For the correlation and division into means, discussed within this chapter, the SLURP program designed by A. Beaton and H. Glauber was used. The subtraction of one variable from another was performed by means of a program written for the author by Dr. Allan Ellis. Dr. Ellis has provided the guidance and instruction in statistical matters without which this study could not have been performed. However, any remaining statistical misinterpretations, inaccuracies and other barbarisms are entirely my own responsibility.

---

[19] Population and dependency rate (computed as the number of children under fifteen divided by the total population) were taken from the general censuses. From the 1840 census came also the total employed in manufacturing, agriculture, commerce, navigation and professions; these measures were used to derive the total employed in non-agricultural occupations and the ratio of this figure to the number employed in agriculture. From the 1865 census came the number of foreign-born. The state census of industry for 1875 contained data compiled from the state census of industry for 1865, which merely listed but did not compile information on each town. From the 1875 census were taken the 1865 figures for total employed in manufacturing, agriculture, and "other occupations" (a category comprising navigation, commerce and a number of trades). In addition, the 1875 census provided information concerning the number of women employed a decade earlier in manufacturing and, finally, the number of manufacturing establishments. The last measure was divided by the number of people employed in manufacturing and the result used as a variable. Unfortunately, there is no source for the number of professionals in each town in 1865 nor for a separate consideration of commerce and navigation.

To determine whether or not a town had established a high school by 1865 Inglis' results, op. cit., were used. All of Inglis' results were not checked; but spot-checking revealed accuracy. The school return abstracts of both years contain the number of incorporated academies; the numbers of unincorporated academies and private schools (in 1840 this category also included schools kept to prolong the common schools); the average monthly salary, including board, of both male and female teachers; per pupil expenditure; and mills per dollar of valuation raised through taxation for school support. This variable will hereafter be termed school tax rate. The data in the returns were used to compute the per cent of females teaching in the winter, hereafter referred to as feminization. Population figures from the census and valuation figures from the school reports were used to determine per capita valuation. The use of valuation is open to the objection that towns assessed their property differently, and that hence the recorded valuation of two or more towns of actually similar real valuation might be different. However, Charles J. Bullock in Historical Sketch of the Finance and Financial Policy of Massachusetts from 1780 to 1905 (New York, 1913, pp. 13 and 56), has pointed out that the valuation of towns was determined at ten year intervals. A special valuation committee was appointed for this purpose. The committee recognized that towns might undervalue their property and, consequently, the committee tried to correct for inaccuracies and to arrive at a uniform standard. Therefore, the valuation reported is a reasonably accurate figure to employ. (continued on next page)

---

[19] (continued)

The 1840 abstract contained a category of the number of students over 16 attending public school, and by 1865 the category had been changed to the number of students over fifteen. Miles from Boston, another measure used was derived partly from a gazeteer of Massachusetts published in 1828 (Jeremiah Spofford, *A Gazeteer of Massachusetts*, Newburyport, 1828); in part from atlases; and in a few cases through measurements made directly from a map. A final measure of considerable importance was density, computed as population divided by square miles of territory. The earliest figures for square mileage that could be located were in the Massachusetts census of 1915. Towns were created and various boundaries altered between 1865 and 1915 but, fortunately, the state government published an excellent pamphlet listing in great detail all name and boundary changes in towns and cities. (See, Massachusetts, Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities and Towns in Massachusetts*, Boston, 1920). This pamphlet was used to determine both certain necessary alterations which could be made with accuracy in the 1915 figures and certain situations in which the town had to be dropped from the sample because of boundary changes. The density figures are not absolutely accurate since small boundary changes could not be measured, but it is assumed that most boundary adjustments were not large enough to invalidate the results. The variables measuring differences between 1840 and 1865 were computed.

Table 4. Means and Standard Deviations of Towns in Sample

Variable	Towns which did not establish a high school by 1865		Towns which did establish a high school by 1865			Entire sample	
	N = 150		N = 54		% difference 2nd/1st	N = 204	
1860							
Population	1536	489	2023	817	32	1665	755
Density	61.83	31.24	95.46	68.96	54	70.74	46.68
Total employed in manufacturing	125	105	259	168	1.07	161	138
Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, excluding professionals	168	156	363	314	1.16	219	226
Agricultural employees	287	152	273	140	-.05	283	149
Ratio non-agricultural to agricultural employees	.78	1.08	1.77	2.18	1.26	1.04	1.51
Per capita valuation	$245	$65.	$269.56	$74.95	.09	$251.79	$68.56
Incorporated Academies	.17	.38	.28	.45	.64	.20	.40
Unincorporate Academies private schools, and schools kept to prolong the common schools	3.43	3.45	4.59	3.93	.33	3.74	3.61
Dependency Rate	.35	.05	.34	.02	-.03	.35	.04
Females as % total teachers in winter	.23	.20	.26	.20	.13	.24	.20
Average monthly salary male teacher	$24.74	$4.24	$27.65	$5.11	11.	$25.51	$4.65
Average monthly salary female teacher	$11.71	$2.10	$12.19	$1.98	.04	$11.84	$2.08
Per pupil expenditure	$2.00	.61	$2.32	.75	.16	$2.09	.66
Taxation as mills/dollar of valuation	2.19	.70	2.36	.92	,07	2.23	.76
Number employed in commerce	6.84	9.11	16.30	21.01	1.38	9.34	13.92
Number employed in navigation	31.37	102.52	52.02	130.44	.62	36 .84	110.64

Table 4 (continued)

Variable	Towns which did not establish a high school by 1865 N = 150		Towns which did establish a high school by 1865 N = 54		% difference 2nd/1st	Entire sample N = 204	
1860 (continued)							
Number in professions	6.42	4.00	9.35	5.44	.45	7.20	4.60
Number over 16 in school	40.95	25.68	42.39	31.50	..03	41.33	27.27
Variable	Non-establishing M	S.D.	Establishing M	S.D.	% difference	M.	Total S.D.
1865							
Population	1728	849	3060	1191	.77	2081	1127
Density	77.11	57.38	175	138	1.27	103	96
Total employed manufacturing	224	366	616	490	1.75	328	437
Total employed non-agricultural occupations	260	382	700	465	169	376	449
Agricultural employees	218	112	229	152	.05	221	123
Ratio: non-ag. to ag.	1.79	4.15	6.62	11.65	269	3.07	7.27
Per capita valuation	$471	$151	$498	$171.	.05	$478	$156
Number incorporated academies	.19	.40	.13	.34	-.32	.18	.38
Number unincorporated acads and private schools	1.26	1.56	1.30	1.77	.03	1.27	1.61
Dependency Rate	.31	.03	.31	.03	00	.31	.03
Females as % all teachers in winter	.75	.18	.81	.18	.08	.77	.16
Average monthly salary male teacher	$30.19	$9.64	$47.17	$14.12	56	$34 .69	$13.29
Average monthly salary female teacher	$17.44	$2.69	$19.13	$2.43	.09	$17 .89	$2.73
Per pupil expenditure	$3.79	$1.14	$4.60	$1.53	.21	4.00	$1.30

Table 4 (continued)

Variable	Non-establishing M	Non-establishing S.D.	Establishing M	Establishing S.D.	% difference	Total M.	Total S.D.
1865 (cont.)							
Mills/dollar in taxes	1.85	.54	2.17	.42	17	1.94	.53
% Foreign born	195	208	498	355	155	275	287
"Other occupations" - trades	30	118	70	169	133	40.19	133.80
Females employed in manufacturing	85	228	210	232	147	118	235
% over 15 in school	51	35	72	41	41	57	38
Workers/mfg. establishment	15.76	23.82	29	31	93	19.27	26.64
Increase 1840-1865 (1865 minus 1840)							
Population	192	349	1037	830	439	416	735
Density	15	39	80	114	433*	32	73
% in manufacturing	99	345	357	406	260	167	379
% non-ag. occs.	92	359	338	476	267	157	407
% agriculture	-48	143	-44	148	37	-62	144
ratio non-agri/agricultural occupations	1.00	3.90	4.86	10.27	386	2.03	6.45

---

* The difference between percentage increases in population and density reflect the changes in the total area of some towns between 1840 and 1865.

Table 4 reveals dramatic differences between the two groups of towns. In brief, high school towns were larger, denser, more industrial and more commercial. Within these categories there was more discrepancy between the towns in 1865 than in 1840. In 1840 the high school towns had a mean population 32% greater than the others. By 1865 the figure was 77%. Similarly, the mean density of the high school towns was 54% greater in 1840 and 127% larger in 1865. For total employed in manufacturing, in non-agricultural occupations, and ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees the 1840 differences were 107%, 116%, and 126%, respectively, between the towns. In 1865 these differences had increasd to 175%, 169% and 269%. The high school towns also grew more rapidly than did the others; their increases in population, density, number employed in manufacturing, number employed in non-agricultural occupations and ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees were, respectively, 439%, 433%, 260%, 267%, and 306% greater than the increases in the non-high school towns.

Other related differences could not be measured for both years, but in the year in which they could be gauged similar discrepancies occurred. In 1860 the mean number employed in commerce in the high school towns was 130% greater than in the other group; the number in professions in the same year was 43% greater, the number employed in navigation 62% larger. Similarly, in 1865, the number in the category "other occupations," comprising commerce, navigation and trades was 137% larger in the high school towns; the number of females employed in manufacturing was 167% greater and the number of workers per manufacturing establishment, 93% larger.

The groups of towns differed only slightly in per capita valuation; the figure for 1840 was 9% higher in the high school towns and 5% higher in 1865. The differences in dependency rate were negligible, and only small differences existed in the number employed in agriculture. The mean number of agricultural employees was 5% smaller in high school towns in 1840 and 5% larger in 1865. In both groups of towns the mean number employed in agriculture declined between 1840 and 1865, but in the high school towns the fall was 37% smaller.

High school towns spent on the average slightly more per pupil. The difference in per pupil expenditure rate was 16% in 1840 and 21% in 1865. Similarly, in high school towns the school tax rate was 7% greater in 1840 and 17% greater in 1865. Female teachers' salaries, on the average, differed slightly between the two groups of towns; in high school towns the figure was 4% greater in 1840 and 9% in 1865. Male teachers' salaries differed markedly. On the average high school towns in 1840 paid male teachers 11% more but by 1865 the difference had increased to 56%. Although both groups of towns hired increasingly higher proportions of female teachers, the degree of feminization differed but little between the two groups. In 1840 23% of the winter teaching force was female in non-high school towns and 26% in high school towns; in 1865 the proportions had increased to 73% and 81%, respectively. A more marked difference occurred in the number of older children remaining in public schools. In 1840 the number of children over sixteen years old who attended public school was only 3% greater in the high school towns; by 1865 the difference in the number over fifteen who attended was 41%.

From a simple division on one criterion, high school establishment, marked relationships emerge. In terms of the grossest distinctions and measures, towns that established a high school were noticeably more urban, industrial and rapidly expanding than those which did not. This general impression is borne out by a correlation of high school establishment with the other forty-seven variables. The results of this correlation are presented in Table 5. Table 5 is drawn from an analysis in which all the variables were correlated with each other. Hereafter, this inter-correlation analysis of all forty-eight variables will be termed the GCA (general correlation analysis).

Table 5. Rank Order of Correlation Coefficients with High School Establishment as Dependent Variable

Rank	Variable	Correlation coefficient
1.	Average monthly salary, male teachers, 1865	.5650
2.	Population, 1865	.5223
3.	Increase in population, 1840 to 1865	.5082
4.	Number of foreign born, 1865	.4658
5.	Density, 1865	.4490
6.	Total employed non-agricultural occupations, 1865	.4343
7.	Total employed in manufacturing, 1840	.4286
8.	Total employed in manufacturing, 1865	.3964
9.	Increase in density, 1840 to 1865	.3891
10.	Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, 1840	.3806
11.	Density, 1840	.3186
12.	Increase employees manufacturing, 1840 to 1865	.3020
13.	Number employed in commerce, 1840	.3005
14.	Ratio non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1865	.2938
15.	" " " " " , 1840	.2880
16.	Population, 1840	.2860
17.	Number in professions, 1840	.2821
18.	Average monthly salary, male teachers, 1840	.2812
19.	Average monthly salary, female teachers, 1865	.2737
20.	Per pupil expenditure, 1865	.2730
21.	Taxation as mills/dollar for schools, 1865	.2686
22.	Increase total employed non-agricultural occs. 1840 to 1865	.2671
23.	Increase ratio non-agr. to agric. employees, 1840 to 1865	.2637
24.	Number over 15 in school, 1865	.2386

Table 5. (continued)

Rank	Variable	Correlation coefficient
25.	Females employed in manufacturing, 1865	.2350
26.	Number of workers./. manufacturing establishments, 1865	.2201
27.	Per pupil expenditure, 1840	.2142
	Not significant at .05 or better	
28.	Miles from Boston	-.1797
29.	Females as % total teachers in winter, 1865	.1590
30.	Per capita valuation, 1840	.1558
31.	Unincorporated academies, private schools and schools kept to prolong common schools, 1840	.1428
32.	"Other occupations," 1865	.1323
33.	Incorporated academies, 1840	.1150
34.	Average monthly salary female teachers, 1840	.1038
35.	Dependency rate, 1840	-.0986
36.	Taxation in mills/dollar for schools, 1840	.0970
37.	Number employed in navigation, 1840	.0825
38.	Per capita valuation, 1865	.0771
39.	Increase number in agriculture, 1840 to 1865	.0763
40.	Number incorporated academies, 1865	-.0737
41.	Females as per cent teachers in winter, 1840	.0622
42.	Number employed in agriculture, 1840	-.0421
43.	Number employed in agriculture, 1865	.0385
44.	Dependency rate, 1865	.0379
45.	Number over 16 in school, 1840	.0234
46.	Total private schools, 1865	-.0104
47.	Number unincorporated academies and private schools, 1865	.1011

Significance
.05 = .195
.01 = .24

Table 5 reinforces the impression gained by comparing mean differences. High school establishment was significantly correlated with each of te social, economic and demographic measures that had a larger mean in high school towns. In spite of the small mean differences between pe pupil expenditure and school tax rate these measures were significantly correlated with high school establishment. Measures of agricultural employees remain neutral, apparently by themselves having no significant bearing on high school establishment. Likewise neutral are academies both incorporated and unincorporated, and per capita valuation.

III. Factor Analysis

A division by means and even a correlation analysis present a somewhat oversimplified picture of the relationships between educational and other variables. The distinction between urban-industrial and non-urban industrial hides shades of difference which may be very relevant to discerning more precisely the characteristics of the relationships under consideration. To discern the patterns of relationships within the variables more subtly a factor analysis was performed. The factor analysis is a test which asks: what are the underlying dimensions in the data and how much does each variable contribute to each dimension? The factor analysis assumes that underlying a large group of observations are certain fundamental unities, that a seemingly chaotic group of events can be reduced and described by certain underlying traits. Thurstone provides a concrete example of what factor analysis attempts:

> ... let us consider a set of gymnastic stunts that might be given to a group of several hundred boys of comparable age. A factor analysis starts with a table of intercorrelations of the variables. If there were twenty different stunts, we should have a square 20 X 20 table showing the correlation of every performance with every other performance. Our question now is to determine whether these relations can be comprehended in terms of some underlying order, which is simpler than the whole table of several hundred experimentally determined coefficients of correlation. Let us suppose that some of the stunts require principally strength of the right arm, that others require principally a good sense of balance, that still others require speed of bodily movement. Several tests that require a good sense of balance might not require arm strength while those which require a strong arm might require very little bodily balance. We might then find that the correlations can be comprehended in terms of a small number of functional unities, such as sense of balance, arm strength, or speed of these functional unities; but it is not likely that every test will require every one of the functional unities that are represented

> by the whole set of gymnastic tests. A factorial analysis would reveal these functional unities, and we would say that each of them is a primary factor in the battery of tests.[20]

Factor analysis begins with a correlation matrix. It assumes that a correlation between variables means that those variables have something in common. That which the variables have in common is referred to as a factor. To conceptualize factor analysis conceive of a set of correlation coefficients represented by lines which plot the relationship between two sets of points, each set of points representing the scores for individuals (here single towns) on a single variable. The lines form a space, and each line adds another dimension to the total space. That is, a plot of six different correlation coefficients will produce a six-dimensional figure. A factor is represented by an axis which runs through the n-dimensional space created by plotting the correlation coefficients. The first factor is an axis that intersects as many of the lines as possible, in other words, which accounts for as much of the variance between the correlations as possible. The second factor will be an axis, orthogonal to the first, which accounts for as much more of the variance as possible, and so on. The scores, or "loadings," on each factor represent the degree of association between the distribution of the scores on each individual variable and the axis, or factor.[21]

---

[20] L. L. Thurstone, Multiple-factor Analysis, a Development and Expansion of the Vectors of the Mind, Chicago, 1947, p. 57.

[21] On factor analysis see William W. Cooley and Paul R. Lohnes, Multivariate Procedures for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, 1962, pp. 151-172; and J. P. Guilford, Psychometric Methods, New York, 1954, pp. 470-538.

Factor analysis is an extremely important test and is superior, for a large group, to partial correlation since it reduces the number of variables to a manageable size and, in effect, partials out the dimensions or factors of significance. However, the dimensions originally identified by a factor analysis have a drawback. The first factor is always a general one which represents only gross differences and obscures some subtle relationships. To overcome these drawbacks a test known as a varimax rotation was used on the factors. The rotation distributes the loadings (or weights of contribution of each variable) of the general factor among the others and accentuates their differences. In a sense the factor analysis and rotation are tests closely resembling the thought processes of the historian; they look for significant relationships among disparate phenomena and leave the historian with the problem of determining the nature of the relevant dimensions.

The Varimax rotation deals with a maximum of ten factors. In this analysis, all ten factors rotated were statistically significant in terms of contributing to the variation among towns on the measures under consideration. Factors, it must be emphasised, should not be taken as literal examples of towns. No town is characterised exclusively by only one or two factors. What the factors do represent are underlying patterns of relationship among the variables, patterns that combined in different degrees within each town.

Table 6 presents the significant factor loadings for factor one. This and all subsequent factor tables present the factors _after_ rotation.

Table 6. Factor One: Significant Factor Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:

Increase total number employed in manufacturing, 1840-1865	.96
Increase total employed in non-agricultural occupations, 1840-1865	.95
Total employed in manufacturing, 1865	.92
Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, 1865	.88
Number of workers per manufacturing establishment, 1865	.74
Increase in population, 1840-1865	.55
Increase in ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1840 to 1865	.47
Number of foreign born, 1865	.44
Population, 1865	.41
Increase in density, 1840 to 1865	.40
Density, 1865	.34
Total employed in manufacturing, 1840	.29
Female teachers salary, 1865	.26
High school established, 1865	.24

Negative:

None

The five dominant loadings, it is clear, are measures of industrial growth and industrial size in 1865: increase in manufacturing employees, .96; increase in non-agricultural employees, .95; total employed in manufacturing 1865, .92; total non-agricultural employees, 1865, .88 and number of workers per manufacturing establishment in 1865, .74. Other measures related to manufacturing are also important: the increase in the ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, .47 and the total employed in manufacturing in 1840, .29. Since foreign born is highly correlated with manufacturing measures in the GCA (for instance, its correlation with increase in manufacturing employees is .48), the high loading, .47, of this variable can be explained by the increase in industrial measures. Demographic measures are of importance, though they do not dominate: population increase loads .55; population in 1865, .44; increase in density, .41 and density in 1865, .40. The two significant loadings for educational variables are female teacher salary, 1865, .26 and high school establishment, .24.

The former is significantly correlated in the OCA with industrial variables. Its correlation with increase in number of manufacturing employees, for instance, is .33. High school establishment, it has been noted earlier, is also highly associated with industrial variables. Thus, the significance of these two variables on factor one is understandable.

Factor one represents an urban-industrial dimension of a special sort. The most important feature of the factor is industrial growth. Second, is industrial size in 1865. Third is growth in population and density, or urban growth. Of lesser importance are the variables for 1840. Indeed, only the number employed in manufacturing in that year is significant. In the OCA manufacturing employees and density in 1865 are significantly correlated, .50, as are the measures for the increase in each variable, .45. Since the loadings of industrial characteristics are so high on factor one, it is probable that these were the dominant characteristics, bringing with them associated growth and magnitude in population and density. Hence, factor one will be termed the manufacturing-growth factor.

Table 7 presents the significant loadings for factor two:

Table 7. Factor Two: Significant Factor Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:

Total employed in manufacturing, 1840	.77
Population, 1865	.76
Total in non-agricultural occupations, 1840	.66
Foreign born, 1865	.62
Density, 1840	.60
Density, 1865	.58
High School establishment, 1865	.57
Population, 1840	.56
Number in professions, 1840	.56
Number in commerce, 1840	.55
Increase in population, 1840 to 1865	.55
Average monthly salary of male teachers, 1865	.53
Increase in density, 1840 to 1865	.39
Unincorporated academies, 1840	.35

Table 7. (continued)

Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, 1865	.34
Total employed in manufacturing, 1865	.32
Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1860	.31

Education:

None

In factor two, as in factor one, urban-industrial characteristics are dominant, but their combination reveals a different underlying relationship. In factor two the 1860 variables, first of all, are more important than in factor one. The variable with the highest loading, .77, is number employed in manufacturing in 1860. Second in importance is population in 1865; third another 1860 variable, total employed in non-agricultural occupations, .66. Density, too, is significant. For 1860 its loading is .60, for 1865, .38 and for the increase between the two, .39. Foreign born in 1865, which has a loading of .62, is another important demographic variable. Similarly, population in 1860, .56, and its increase, .33, are significant. Three other variables related to manufacturing have significant loadings: non-agricultural employees 1865, .34; total employed in manufacturing 1865, .32 and ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees 1860, .31, but, it is important to note, no increase in a manufacturing variable has a significant loading. Given the general urban characteristics in 1860 represented by factor two it is not surprising that number of professionals and number in commerce, both with loadings of .36, are significant.

The important educational characteristics of factor two are high school establishment, .56, male teacher salary, 1865, .53 and number of unincorporated academies, 1860. High school establishment, it has been noted, was significantly correlated with all of the urban and industrial variables of importance in factor two. As well, in the GCA high school establishment was significantly correlated, .30, with number employed in commerce in 1860 and .28 with number of professionals in 1860. The importance of the social, economic and occupational characteristics associated with high schools explains the high loading of the latter variable on factor two. Male teacher salary is significantly correlated, .56,with high school establishment in the GCA, and the high loading of the latter undoubtedly contributes to the former's significance on factor two. At first glance, the significance of unincorporated academies is somewhat surprising on a factor containing high school establishment since academies were considered inimical to the expansion of the public educational system. However, it is unincorporated academies for 1860 (not for 1865) that is significant. In 1860, the GCA shows, unincorporated academies were significantly correlated with number in commerce, .48 and number in professions, .31. The pattern of relationships of unincorporated academies in 1865 was very different, as will be shown presently, and the differences suggest that the relation of these private institutions to the rest of the community altered markedly in the intervening years. In factor two, finally, both urban and industrial characteristics are present. However, the size of manufacturing variables in 1840 is more important than their size in 1865, and their growth is not significant. On the other hand, in 1865 demographic, urban variables weigh more heavily than the manufacturing ones and their growth is significant. That is, the dominant 1840 characteristics represent manufacturing; the dominant 1865 and growth characteristics represent urbanism. Thus, factor two will be termed the urban-growth factor.

Table 8 lists the significant factor loadings for factor three.

Table 8. Factor Three: Significant Factor Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Per pupil expenditure, 1865	.80
Per pupil expenditure, 1840	.78
Average male teacher salary, 1840	.75
Per capita valuation, 1865	.74
Average female teacher salary, 1865	.72
Average female teacher salary, 1840	.58
Average male teacher salary, 1865	.52
Per capita valuation, 1840	.48
School tax rate, 1840	.30
High school established, 1865	.26
Increase in density, 1840 to 1865	.24
Negative:	
Miles from Boston	-.43

In factor three the dominant loadings are educational. The two highest loadings are per pupil expenditure in 1865 and 1840, .80 and .78, respectively. Likewise, salaries of both male and female teachers for 1840 and 1865 have high loadings; for male teacher in 1840 the loading is .75, in 1865, .52. For female teachers in 1865 it is .58, in 1865, .72. Significant also in this dimension is communal wealth, represented by per capita valuation with a loading of .74 in 1865 and .48 in 1840. The association of per capita valuation and per pupil expenditure is predictable from the correlation between the two, .41 on the GIA; but the significant loading of school tax rate in 1860, .30, is surprising because the correlation between tax and per capita valuation is -.46. Factor three, thus, represents an exceptionally high level of educational expenditure. This conclusion is reinforced by the significance of high school establishment, .26, which, in the GIA is significantly associated with measures of educational spending in 1865 and with male teacher salary in 1860.

Particularly revealing in factor three are the significant demographic loadings, increase in density, .26, and the significant geographic loading, miles from Boston, -.42. Factor three represents an increasing clustering of population near Boston and probably reflects the growth of suburban areas in this period. This is the dimension most characterized by measures of both educational expenditure and innovation; it will be termed the wealthy suburban factor.

Factors one, two and three represent variation of urban dimensions. By contrast factors five, six and seven (four will be returned to) represent variation of agricultural dimensions. The significant factor loadings of factor five are listed in Table 9:

Table 9. Factor Five: Significant Factor Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Per capita valuation, 1860	.28
Feminization, 1865	.26
Negative:	
Number employed in navigation, 1840	-.90
"Other occupations," 1865	-.81
Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1840	-.73
Number over 15 in public school, 1865	-.67

Table 9. (continued)

Unincorporated academies, 1840	-.56
Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1865	-.55
Population, 1840	-.52
Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, 1840	-.46
School tax rate, 1840	-.44
Increase in ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1840-1865	-.44
Density, 1840	-.41
Number employed in commerce, 1840	-.37
Average monthly salary of male teachers, 1840	-.32
Number over 16 in public school, 1840	-.31
Population, 1865	-.29
Dependency rate, 1840	-.24
Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, 1865	-.24

Striking in factor five are the significant negative loadings of both measures associated with urbanism and occupations other than agriculture. Particularly dominant negatively are number employed in navigation in 1840 and "other occupations" 1865, -.90 and -.81, respectively. The ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees is also significantly negative, -.73 in 1840 and -.55 in 1865. Not surprisingly, number employed in commerce, -.37, is also significantly negative as is the increase in the total number of non-agricultural employees, -.44. That this is a dimension characterized by small population size and relatively few children is attested by the loadings of population in 1865, -.29 and dependency rate in 1840, -.24. Yet it is not a dimension characterized by a lack of communal wealth since the loading of per capita valuation in 1840 is .38.

Given the dominant social and demographic characteristics of this dimension most of the educational features are predictable from the general correlation analysis. For instance the correlation coefficient of number employed in commerce in 1840 with male teacher salary in 1840 is .26. In this factor the loading of male teacher salary is negative, -.32.

Likewise, the correlation between number over 13 in public school and ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees in 1860 is .32, and the loading of the former is negative, -.67. Similarly, the correlation coefficient of per capita valuation and school tax rate in 1860 is -.46, and the loading of the latter is -.44. Feminization in 1860, with a loading of .26, is less readily explicable since there is no significant correlation between this measure and any variable in the OCA. However, the polarity noticeable between feminization and unincorporated academies is a relationship that appears also in another factor and will be returned to. The negative loading of unincorporated academies for 1860, -.36, is understandable in light of its positive correlation with number employed in commerce, .48, average male teacher salary in 1860, .24, and number employed in navigation, .34. A somewhat surprising feature of factor five is the absence of per pupil expenditure in 1860 as significantly positive since this variable was significantly correlated, .41, with per capita valuation. The absence of per pupil expenditure as positive combined with the negative significance of number over 16 and 13 in school and of school tax rate indicates a low level of expenditure on, and perhaps a lack of interest in, public education as a characteristic of factor five. Besides a low expenditure on public education, factor five represents smallness, an absence of sea-faring and commercial activity and at the least a balance between non-agricultural and agricultural enterprise resistant to change. It will be termed the small, static non-commercial factor.

Table 10 presents the significant factor loadings for factor six.

Table 10. Factor Six: Significant Factor Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Number employed in agriculture, 1863	.79
Increase in agricultural employees, 1860-1863	.40
Number employed in agriculture, 1860	.27
Negative:	
Increase in the ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1860-1863	-.39
Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1863	-.39
Density, 1863	-.30
Increase in density, 1860-1863	-.30
Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1860	-.32
School tax rate, 1860	-.28
Density, 1860	-.26

The dominant characteristic of factor six is clearly agricultural. Significantly positive are number employed in agriculture in 1863, .7 increase in agricultural employees, .40 and number employed in agriculture in 1860, .40. By contrast the significant negative loadings are, predictably, the ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees for 18 1863 and the increase between the two years with negative loadings of -.32, -.39 and -.39, respectively. The negative loadings of density measures indicate the sparseness of population that accompanies agriculture; the loading of density for 1860 is -.26; for 1863, -.30 and for the i crease also -.30.

The only significant educational variable in factor six is schoo tax rate for 1860 which has a negative loading of -.28, a loading expected because of the significant correlation, .50, between it and ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees. It is important to note that within factor six measures for 1865 and measures of increase are more heavily weighted than are measures for 1840. No measures of manufacturing, moreover, are associated, even negatively, with this factor. It is an agricultural, not an anti-manufacturing dimension. Likewise, it is not in itself an anti-education factor, although the low level of school tax rate indicates a tendency towards a low level of educational expenditure. Factor six will be termed the agricultural growth factor.

The significant factor loadings for factor seven are listed in Table 11.

Table 11. Factor Seven: Significant Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Increase in agricultural employees, 1840-1865	.81
Negative:	
Number of agricultural employees, 1840	-.81
Number over 16 in school, 1840	-.62
Population, 1840	-.31

Factor seven is also clearly agricultural. Only the number of agricultural employees and the population in 1840 are negative, -.31 and -.81, respectively, while the increase in agricultural employees between 1840 and 1865 is positive. Factor seven, then, represents the emergence of a numerous group of agricultural employees between 1840 and 1865. It will be termed the growing agricultural population factor. Again, only one educational variable, this time number over 16 in public school in 1840, is significant, -.62, and this significance is explicable in terms of its association with agricultural employees in 1840, .31 in the OCA. As in factor six, agricultural characteristics by themselves neither fostered nor precluded manufacturing development or a high level of educational spending.

Only one other factor, number eight, lends itself to a non-educational characterization. Table 12 lists the significant factor loadings:

Table 12. Factor Eight: Significant Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Dependency rate, 1865	.75
Dependency rate, 1840	.61
Miles from Boston	.57
Feminization, 1840	.34
Average monthly salary of female teachers, 1840	.32
Feminization, 1865	.26
Negative:	
None	

Factor eight is characterized by a high dependency rate for both 1840 and 1865, .75 and .61; and it is associated with distance away from Boston, .57. The educational characteristics of factor eight all relate to female teachers: the degree of feminization has a loading of .34 in 1840, .26 in 1865; and the average monthly salary of female teachers in 1840 has a loading of .32. The association of variables in this factor is somewhat surprising in light of the correlation analysis. None of the educational variables are significantly correlated either with each other or with the significant demographic variables. Again, the role of feminization is puzzling, and this variable will be analyzed by itself later in the chapter. Factor eight will be termed the distance-dependency factor.

The three remaining factors represent educational dimensions. Table 13 lists the significant loadings for factor four.

Table 13. Factor Four: Significant Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Number of unincorporated academies and private schools, 1865	.97
Total number of private schools, 1865	.95
Negative:	
Feminization, 1865	-.24

The dominant characteristic here is unincorporated academies and private schools in 1865 whose loading is .97. This will be termed the unincorporated academy factor. As in factor three feminization and unincorporated academies tend to have opposite loadings; and feminization in 1865 has the only significantly negative loading on the factor, -.24.

The significant factor loadings for factor nine are listed in Table 14.

Table 14. Factor Nine: Significant Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Incorporated academies, 1865	.78
Incorporated academies, 1840	.74
Number of professionals, 1840	.50
Population, 1840	.30
Feminization, 1840	.25
Negative:	
None	

Factor nine is dominated by incorporated academies which have a loading of .74 in 1840 and .78 in 1865. The significance of number of professionals,

.50, is comprehensible from the correlation between it and incorporated academies: .45 in 1840 and .30 in 1865. Population in 1840, whose loading is .30, is also significantly correlated, .30, with incorporated academies in 1840. Feminization in 1840 has a significant factor loading of .25 but is significantly associated in the GCA with none of the other significant variables in factor nine, which will be termed the incorporated academy factor.

Table 15 lists the significant factor loadings for factor ten.

Table 15. Factor Ten: Significant Loadings in Rank Order

Positive:	
Per capita valuation, 1865	.37
Per capita valuation, 1840	.34
Negative:	
School tax rate, 1865	-.82
School tax rate, 1840	-.59
Feminization, 1865	-.26

Dominant in factor ten is the low school tax rate in both 1840, -.59, and 1865, -.82. The significantly positive loadings for valuation, .34 in 1840 and .37 in 1865, are predictable from the correlation between valuation and tax measures, -.46 in 1840 and -.42 in 1865. Again, feminization in 1865 has a negative loading of -.26 but is not significantly correlated with any of the significant variables in factor ten, which will be termed the low school tax rate factor.

IV. Patterns of Variance

Feminization has been a puzzling variable throughout the analysis of factors. Although its correlations in the GCA for both 1840 and 1865 are almost entirely below significance, it has appeared as a significant variable in five, or half, of the ten factors. Four of the five appearances of feminization suggest that it is associated with a low level of expenditure on public education. Feminization was positively significant on the small, static non-commercial factor, a factor on which two measures of educational expenditure also had significantly negative loadings and none positive. Feminization for 1840 was positively significant on the incorporated academy factor. Since no measures of educational expenditure are significant on this factor and incorporated academies have no significant relationships with such measures on the GCA, these institutions are not associated with high levels of school spending. Feminization was significantly positive also on the dependency-distance factor. Although one measure of educational expenditure, average female teacher salary in 1840, was significant on this factor, distance itself was negatively associated with per pupil expenditure in the GCA: -.48 for 1840 and -.45 for 1865. Likewise, dependency in both years was negatively correlated with per pupil expenditure, -.25 in 1840 and -.27 in 1865. Thus, in this case feminization appeared with variables noticeably associated with a low level of educational spending. In the low tax rate factor feminization for 1865 and school tax rate for both 1840 and 1865 had significantly negative loadings. In part, at least, feminization thus may be considered a variable associated with a low level of expenditure on public education. Since female teachers' salaries were roughly half as large as those of male teachers, feminization probably represented an educational economy. This conclusion is reinforced by the absence of a clear relationship between feminization and social and economic measures.

Twice feminization has a polar relationship with unincorporated academies in the factor analysis. In the first case, feminization is positive on the small, static non-commercial factor, which suggests an association with agricultural characteristics. This is reinforced by the negative significance of incorporated academies in 1840 on this factor, for in that year the latter were positively associated in the GCA with measures of urbanism and manufacturing. On the other hand, feminization for 1865 is negative on the unincorporated academy factor, in which unincorporated academies for 1865 is significant and positive at an extremely high level. By this year, unincorporated academies had no significant associations with any social and economic measures, and the alteration in their relationships with the latter variables suggests that they were becoming increasingly characteristic of non-urban and non-manufacturing areas. If this is the case, then the negative significance of feminization suggests that it may have been associated with denser and more industrial areas. This conclusion is supported by the positive significance of feminization on the distance-dependency factor which, it will be argued shortly, was associated with manufacturing measures. Thus, the relationship of feminization to the social and economic characteristics of a community remains ambiguous, and the ambiguity reinforces the conclusion that the most important variables related to feminization were measures of educational expenditure.

High school establishment is a less ambiguous variable. Three types of urban dimensions have been identified: manufacturing growth, urban growth and wealthy suburban; high school establishment is significantly weighted on each and on no others. It is most heavily weighted, however, on the second, the urban growth factor. Although high school establishment is significantly correlated with both urban and manufacturing variables in the GCA, it is associated rather more markedly with the former. The correlation of high school establishment with population in 1865, .52 is second only to its correlation with average male teacher salary in the same year, .56. The increase in population and the density in 1865 both rank ahead of measures of manufacturing employees, and the increase in density ranks ahead of the increase in variables relating to manufacturing employees. Thus, high school establishment was relatively more associated with urban than with manufacturing characteristics.

The relationships of school tax rate are less clear. In general, the wealthier a town in terms of property the less of that property it raised for schools. In the GCA the coefficient between per capita valuation and school tax rate is -.42 for 1865 and -.46 for 1840. Similarly, in the school tax rate factor the two measures have significant and opposite loadings. Yet, the normal relationship between wealth and tax apparently varied in two kinds of circumstances. First, a high school tax rate is characteristic of the wealthy suburban dimension and a low school tax rate part of the agricultural growth factor.

The relationship of per pupil expenditure to other variables is only partly clear. It appears only in the wealthy-suburban factor and there, for both years, its loading is extremely high. This high loading is understandable in light of the correlation in the GCA of per pupil expenditure with per capita valuation, .55 for 1865. The relationship of per pupil expenditure to communal wealth then is the opposite of school tax rate. In no factor is per pupil expenditure negatively significant, and in the GCA it is negatively and significantly correlated with only one variable, dependency rate for 1865, -.27. Dependency rate, in turn, was positively associated with manufacturing and urban variables; its correlation for 1865 with total employed in manufacturing is .20, for foreign born it is .34, for population increase, .30, and for both increase in number employed in manufacturing and total number of non-agricultural employees, .21. Per pupil expenditure, thus, was probably depressed by an increase in dependency rate which, in turn, was associated with manufacturing and urban characteristics. It is likely, therefore, that per pupil expenditure would be relatively low in a town characterized by a rapid and sharp development of manufacturing. The social and economic determinants of both per pupil expenditure and school tax rate would be clearer if more were known about the relationships of per capita valuation to other variables. However, neither the factor analysis nor the GCA provide the necessary illumination.

The salary of male teachers was significant and positive in factors two and three, the urban growth and wealthy suburban factors. This suggests that high male teacher salary is relatively more closely associated with urban than with manufacturing characteristics, and this hypothesis is reinforced by the GCA, from which Table 16 is derived:

Table 16. Significant Correlations of Average Male Teacher Salary, 1840 and 1865

Variable	Average Male Teacher Salary - 1840	Average Male Teacher Salary - 1865
1. Population	.28	.52
2. Density	.35	.52
3. Manufacturing employees	.29	.32
4. Total non-agricultural employees	.33	.32
5. Agricultural employees	-.23	not significant
6. Ratio of "4" to "5"	.39	.32
7. Number in commerce	.37	
8. Number in navigation	.26	
9. Number of professionals	.20	
10. Increase in population	.26	.52
11. Increase in density	.36	.44
12. Increase total employed manufacturing	not significant	.23
13. Increase ratio non-agricultural to agricultural employees	.37	.28

Table 16 reveals the relatively higher correlation of male teacher salary with demographic measures, as .52 with density and population in 1865 and .44 and .52 for their increase, respectively, than with manufacturing variables, .32 with total employed in manufacturing and .23 with its increase. The urban associations of male teachers salary are likewise reflected in its negative correlation, -.23 for 1840, with agricultural employees and in its negative loading on the small, static non-commercial factor.

Female teacher salary, Table 17 shows, was also related to urban and manufacturing measures:

Table 17. Significant Correlations of Average Female Teacher Salary in 1865

Population	.31
Density	.31
Total number employed in manufacturing	.36
Total number employed in non-agricultural occupations	.36
Females employed in manufacturing	.25
Population increase	.35
Density increase	.33
Increase in total number employed in manufacturing	.36
Increase in total employed in non-agricultural occupations	.26

Table 17 indicates that manufacturing variables are relatively more associated with female teacher salary than with male teacher salary in 1865. Its correlations with urban and manufacturing variables are nearly identical. This conclusion is reinforced by the significant loading of female teacher salary on the manufacturing growth factor. The connection of female teacher salary with manufacturing helps to explain its importance on the dependency-distance factor, since in the GCA both dependency and female salary are associated with measures of manufacturing. However, the significant loading of female teacher salary on the wealthy suburban factor indicates that it was subject to influences besides manufacturing, namely wealth and high per pupil expenditure.

Unincorporated academies had a significant loading on three factors: positive for 1840 on urban growth and for 1865 on the unincorporated academy factor and negative for 1840 on the small, static non-commercial dimension. Earlier it was suggested that these weightings reflected a change in the relationship of unincorporated academies to social and economic measures. Table 18 reinforces this conclusion:

Table 18. Significant Correlations of Unincorporated Academies and Other Private Schools with Social and Economic Variables, 1840 and 1865

Correlation of	with Unincorporated Academies, 1840
Population, 1840	.36
Density, 1840	.33
Total employed in non-agricultural occupations, 1840	.39
Ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, 1840	.34
Number of people in commerce, 1840	.48
Number employed in navigation, 1840	.54
Number in professions, 1840	.31
Population, 1865	.36
"Other occupations," 1865	.36
	with Unincorporated Academies, 1865
Population, 1865	.22

In 1840 unincorporated academies, Table 15 shows, were significantly related to measures of urbanism and manufacturing; for instance, their correlation with density was .33, with total employed in non-agricultural occupations, .39. In 1865 unincorporated academies were no longer significantly associated with these measures. Likewise, unincorporated academies were significantly correlated in 1840 with number employed in commerce, navigation and professions, .34, .48 and .54, respectively, but academies in 1865 were not correlated with the variables from the earlier year nor with "other occupations" (commerce, navigation and trades). However, unincorporated academies in 1840 was significantly correlated with "other occupations" in 1865 and this suggests that these schools had been discontinued in communities where they had previously existed. In fact, unincorporated academies in 1840 are correlated with variables similar to those associated with high schools in 1865. This suggests that kinds of communities that sustained an unincorporated academy in 1840 had often established high schools by 1865, and that people employed in commerce and navigation were associated with the movement. These conclusions are reinforced by two additional observations: first, no significant correlation exists between unincorporated academies in 1840 and in 1865. Second, in 1840 male teacher salary was significantly correlated with unincorporated academies, .24; male teacher salary in 1840 was also significantly correlated with high school establishment by 1865, .28; in 1865 unincorporated academies had no correlation whatsoever with male teacher salary, but, as has been noted, the correlation between the latter and high school establishment was .56.

The most important associations of incorporated academies have already been discussed. These institutions, unlike the unincorporated ones, were not associated in 1840 with urban-industrial measures. In fact, in 1840 incorporated academies were significantly correlated, .21, with agricultural employees. The other principal contrast between incorporated and unincorporated academies is in their relationship to professionals. Both professionals and people employed in commerce are significantly correlated with unincorporated and incorporated academies in 1840. However, in 1865 the number of professionals in 1840 is significantly correlated only with incorporated academies. Yet both professionals and number employed in commerce in 1840 are correlated nearly identically with high schools, .28 and .30 respectively. This suggests that in communities where professionals were numerous in 1840 an incorporated academy tended to exist and to continue its existence through the next two and one half decades. The correlation between incorporated academies in 1840 and 1865 is .52. However, in communities where incorporated academies did not exist professionals tended to be associated with the shift from unincorporated ones to public high schools.

In 1840 the number of children over 16 attending school was associated with agricultural characteristics. In the growing agricultural population factor both school children over 16 and number of agricultural employees were negatively loaded. In addition, the two were significantly correlated, .31, in the GCA, and number over 16 was negatively correlated, -.19, with increase in the number of manufacturing employees. However, the negative loading of number over 16 in school on the small, static non-commercial factor is somewhat harder to explain since one would predict differently from the general association of the measure with agricultural variables. Two reasons account for its presence on the factor: first, number over 16 was positively correlated, .22, with population, which was also negatively loaded on the variable. Second, it was correlated, .35, with number over 15 attending school in 1865. The latter measure was significantly correlated with population, density, number employed in manufacturing, and ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural occupations in 1840, .47, .23, .35 and .46 respectively. Likewise, it was correlated with all of the same variables, except density, in 1865, .39, .29, .32, respectively, and with increase in the ratio of non-agricultural to agricultural employees, .26. This suggests that in both 1840 and 1865 older children tended to be in school in the larger communities, but that in 1840 more children over 16 years of age attended school in predominantly agricultural communities whereas the communities in which the largest numbers of children over 15 attended school in 1865 were in 1840, and continued to be in 1865, relatively non-agricultural.

V. Conclusions and Limitations

The hypotheses and questions concerning the relationship between educational and social, economic and demographic variables, posed at the start of this chapter, have been examined from three directions; by an examination of mean differences between high school and non-high school towns; by the results of a factor analysis and by an examination of the associations of individual variables within the factor analysis and a correlation analysis. This examination suggests certain conclusions, summarized below:

I. Feminization

1. Feminization was associated with a low level of expenditure on public education.
2. The relationship of feminization to socio-economic measures is ambiguous and appears to be a product of the level of educational expenditure within the community.
3. In towns distant from Boston feminization was associated with a high dependency rate.

II. High Schools

1. High school establishment was related to all the dominant patterns of urbanism and industrialism.
2. High school establishment was relatively more associated with urban than with manufacturing characteristics.

VI. Average Female Teacher Salary

1. A high female teacher salary was associated nearly equally with manufacturing and urban measures.
2. Independently of manufacturing, a high female teacher salary was associated with high per capita valuation and high per pupil expenditure.

VII. Unincorporated Academies

1. In 1840 unincorporated academies were significantly related to measures of urbanism and manufacturing.
2. In 1865 unincorporated academies were not related to measures of urbanism and manufacturing.
3. Unincorporated academies lost their significant association with number engaged in commerce and professionals between 1840 and 1865.
4. Kinds of communities that had sustained an unincorporated academy in 1840 had often established a high school by 1865.

VIII. Incorporated Academies

1. In communities where professionals were numerous in 1840 an incorporated academy tended to exist and to continue its existence through the next two and one-half decades.
2. In communities where incorporated academies did not exist in 1840 professionals tended to be associated with the shift from unincorporated academies to public high schools.

IX. Number over 16 in public school in 1840 and over 15 in 1865.

1. In both 1840 and 1865 older children tended to attend public school in the more populous towns.

2. In 1840 more children over 16 attended school in predominantly agricultural towns.
3. Towns in which the largest numbers of children over 15 attended school in 1865 were in 1840, and continued to be in 1865, relatively non-agricultural.

Although this investigation has yielded significant conclusions, a greatly expanded analysis might produce results both more definitive and more extensive. The analysis could be expanded profitably in three ways. First, additional variables could be added to the study. If the year 1860, as well as 1865, is included then it will be possible to obtain information on additional occupational groups, particularly merchants, shoemakers and laborers. Moreover, manuscript census records contain the number of church seats claimed by each denomination in each town. The utilization of this data as a rough indication of denominational strength would provide some empirical evidence for the assertions frequently made concerning the role of religion in the mid-nineteenth century educational reform movement. It would be well, too, to include the figures in the 1845, 1855, and 1865 censuses of industry for the value of agricultural and manufacturing (perhaps broken down by categories) goods produced. These measures might illuminate the determinants of communal wealth, a key variable which this analysis has handled most inadequately.

A second way in which the investigation could be profitably extended is through the introduction of more derivative variables. That is, the present analysis has determined that the degree of change between certain variables as well as static differences was of considerable importance. Additional socio-economic as well as educational variables could be likewise derived and important information obtained on topics such as the relationships of the degree of change in per pupil spending and school tax rate. In all, the expanded analysis could profitably utilize over twice the number of variables in the present study.

A final way in which this study could be extended is through the addition of the very large and very small communities omitted from the present analysis. Ideally, the expanded analysis would consider separately the sample as defined in the present analysis, all the towns and cities for which data is obtainable and the cities and towns in the extreme categories. Particularly useful in this connection would be to study the effect of the pace of urbanism and industrialism on levels of educational spending and on educational innovation. It would be necessary to include the very large cities in order to determine whether, past a certain degree of development, the impact of urbanism and industrialism on education altered. In this connection, a set of graphs should be constructed plotting the relationship between the various educational and socio-economic measures.

No matter how this analysis is extended, no matter what degree of refinement is introduced, the utility of statistics will still have severe limitations. This appendix commenced with a question: were there significant patterns of association between educational and social, demographic and economic features of Massachusetts communities? The answer is clearly affirmative, and some of the relationships have been discovered. But to discover a relationship is not to explain its meaning. To find the meaning of historical relationships is the task of the historian, not the computer.

Appendix C. Social Composition of High School Enrollment

Table 1. Town Size and Estimation of Proportion of Eligible Children Attending High School, 1860, based on 10% random sample of communities with high schools.

Note: The proportion was figured as the number of children attending during the winter or third (depending on how year was divided) session divided by 4/5 of the average of children 10-15 and 15-20.

	Population	Proportion attending
Small Towns		
	1,129	70
	1,348	22
	2,912	28
	3,296	28
	3,333	20
Medium Size		
	6,272	20
	7,261	11
Large		
	14,026	6
	15,376	7
	19,083	7
	24,960	11

(Source: State census of 1860 and town school committee reports)

Table 2a. Occupations of Fathers of Graduated of Chelsea High School, 1858-1864

(The 43 families in this table represent 49 children, 39 girls and 10 boys. These 49 children make up 69% of the 71 graduates during the period.)

Upper middle class	
Professional and public employee	2
Owner of business, store, manufacturing operation or financial concern (merchant or broker)	19
Business employee	3
Master mariner, shipping master, shipwright, shipsmith	5
Total	29
Middle class	
Artisan	11
Farmer	0
Total	11
Lower class	
Operative	0
Laborer	0
No occupation listed for parent	3
Total	43

Table 2b. Occupations of Fathers of Students Entering Somerville High School, 1856-1861

(The 111 Families in this table represent 135 children, or 75% of the 181 who entered during this period.)

Upper middle class	
Professional and public employee	11
Owner of business, *etc*. (as above)	44
Business employee	8
Master mariner, shipwright	2
Total	65
Middle class	
Artisan	26
Farmer	9
Total	35
Lower class	
Operative	0
Laborer	0
Farm Laborer	1
Total	1
No occupation listed for parent	10
Total	111

(Based on records in possession of Chelsea and Somerville high schools and Somerville high schools and manuscript census for 1860)

A valid question is: did the students about whom no information was obtainable represent a socially marginal group whose inclusion would change the results? My feeling is that the answer is no. Some students were not included because spelling ambiguities in the census and school records made identification too uncertain. As for the ones who left the high school before 1860, the census year--these may have been the most successful graduated in terms of finding good employment in other cities. In general, however, my feeling is that the gaps are random.

Table 3. Estimation of Numbers in Lowest Socio-Economic Categories, Chelsea and Somerville, 1860

	Chelsea	Somerville
Foreign born (1865)	2,839	2,290
Laborers (1860)	391	316
Shoemakers (1860)	58	10
Mariners (ordinary, 1860)	261	?
Number employed in manufacturing (1865)	599	681
Farm laborers (1860)	0	36
Population (1860)	13,395	8,025
(1865)	14,403	9,353
Number of families (1860)	2,596	1,564
(1865)	3,034	1,807
% in Lower Class--Rough Estimation (# in occupations listed above/ # of families, 1865)	43	62

(Based on state censuses of 1860, 1865 and 1875.)

Appendix D. Beverly and the Vote to Abolish the High School: Relevant Statistics

Table 1: Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of Beverly, Massachusetts, 1840-1865

Characteristic	1840	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865
Population	4,689		5,396	5,944	6,154	5,942
Number in Agriculture	345				215	225
As % of population	7%				3%	3%
Number in manufacturing and trades	657			1,032		928
As % of population	14%			17%		15%
No. of shoemakers		736		811	589	494
as % of population		15%		13%	9%	8%
Quantity of shoes made		210,880		287,600		382,700
Quantity/no. shoemakers		286.52		354.62		774.69
Foreign Born				528		460
Number engaged in commerce (merchants)	107				75	
Number aged 20-30				1,121		765
Number aged 30-40						
Raw Value goods produced		170,905		537,330		589,411
Corrected value		205,910		488,482		318,601
Raw value shoes made		110,185		171,000		518,800
Corrected value		132,753		155,455		280,432
Raw value minus shoes		60,720		366,330		70,611
Corrected value		73,157		333,027		38,168
Raw capital invested		21,050		126,400		164,950
Corrected capital		25,361		114,909		89,162
Raw agricultural product		94,659		138,890		474,848
Corrected agriculture		163,205		141,724		320,843
Raw value of fish caught		74,155		172,775		184,630
Corrected value		89,343		157,068		99,800
No. of ships in fishing fleet		46		48		24

Table 2: Wholesale Prices of Hides and Leather Goods, 1845-1862.

1910-14 = 100

1845	63
1850	67
1851	65
1852	70
1853	84
1854	100
1855	104
1856	121
1857	139
1858	110
1859	115
1860	102
1861	90
1862	108
1863	133
1864	164
1865	152
1866	146

Table 3: Residential Distribution of Vote on High School Issue, Beverly 1860

District	N	Votes to Retain % of all votes in district	% of all votes to retain in town	N	Votes to Abolish % of all votes in district	% of all votes to abolish in town	Total N	% all vote in town
Grammar	79	57	61	58	43	27	137	40
Cove	5	9	4	52	91	24	57	17
South	22	44	17	28	56	13	50	15
Washington	12	33	9	24	67	11	36	10
Bald Hill	4	30	3	9	70	4	13	4
Bass River	4	22	3	15	78	7	19	5
West Farms	0	0	0	11	100	5	11	3
East Farms	1	5	.1	19	95	9	20	6

Table 4: Occupational Distribution, Vote on High School Issue: Beverly, 1860

Occupation	Votes to Retain Number	Proportion all to retain	Votes to Abolish Number	Proportion all to abolish	Total No.	Proportion all votes
Professional and Public Employee	17	.1318	2	.0094	19	.0556
"Gentlemen"	4	.0310	0	.0000	4	.0117
Business	30	.2326	24	.1127	54	.1579
- shoe manufacturer	5	.0388	9	.0423	14	.0409
- merchant or trader	10	.0775	7	.0329	17	.0497
- proprietor or business	1	.0078	4	.0188	5	.0146
- business employee	4	.0310	0	.0000	4	.0117
- retail sales	7	.0543	6	.0282	13	.0380
- house to house sales	3	.0233	2	.0094	5	.0146
Sea Captain and Master Mariner	8	.0620	1	.0047	9	.0263
Artisan	30	.2326	34	.1596	64	.1871
Farmer	7	.0543	37	.1737	44	.1287
Shoemaker	29	.2248	80	.3662	109	.3129
Mariner or Fisherman	3	.0233	21	.0986	24	.0702
Laborer or Farm Laborer	0	.0000	10	.0469	10	.0292
Unknown	1	.0078	5	.0235	6	.0175

Table 5: Distribution of Wealth, High School Vote: Beverly, 1860

Category	Vote to Retain Number	Vote to Retain Proportion or mean of all to retain	Vote to Abolish Number	Vote to Abolish Proportion or mean of all to abolish	Total No.	Proportion or mean of total
Value of real estate		$1892.09		$1152.70		$1431.59
Value of personal estate		$2107.18		$ 655.59		$1203.12
Value of total estate		$3999.26		$1806.88		$2633.83
Value real estate						
- 0-000	75	.5814	108	.5070	183	.5350
- 1,000-4,999	38	.2946	99	.4601	136	.3977
- over 5,000	16	.1240	7	.0321	23	.0673
Value personal estate						
- 0-999	76	.5891	169	.7934	245	.7164
- 1,000-4,999	34	.2636	40	.1831	73	.2135
- over 5,000	19	.1473	5	.0235	24	.0702
Value total estate						
- 0-999	54	.4186	94	.4413	148	.4327
- 1,000-4,999	42	.3256	104	.4836	145	.4240
- over 5,000	33	.2558	16	.0751	49	.1433

Table 6: Distribution of Dependency and Age, High School Vote: Beverly, 1860

Category	Vote to Retain Number	Vote to Retain Proportion or mean	Vote to Abolish Number	Vote to Abolish Proportion or mean	Total No.	Proportion or mean
Has no school age children	56	.4341	120	.5634	176	.5146
The number of children, 12-17, who attended school past year	45	.3448	52	.2441	97	.2836
The number of children, 12-17, who did NOT attend school past year	16	.1240	30	.1408	46	.1345
The number of children, 5-11	91	.7054	105	.4930	196	.5731
Age		42.6047		42.5728		42.5848

Table 7. Artisans: Wealth and Vote on High School Issue: Beverly, 1860

Category	Retain N	Retain % of all artisans voting	Abolish N		Abolish % of all artisans voting
Real Estate					
$0-999	21	33	19		30
$1,000-4,999	9	14	13		21
$5,000 and over	0	0	1		2
Total	30		33	63	100%
Personal Estate					
$0-999	21	33	25		40
$1,000-4,999	7	11	8		13
Over $5,000	2	3	0		0
Total	30		33	63	100%
Total Estate					
$0-999	15	24	17		27
$1,000-4,999	12	19	13		20
Over $5,000	3	5	3		5
Total	30		30	63	100%

Table 8. People: Business Wealth and Vote on High School Issue, Beverly, 1860

Category	Retain		Abolish			
	N	% of all in business voting	N	% of all in business voting		
Real Estate						
$0-999	13	24	7	13		
$1,000-4,999	8	15	12	22		
Over 5,000	9	17	5	9	54	100%
Personal Estate						
$0-999	12	22	12	22		
$1,000-4,999	12	22	9	17	54	100%
Over $5,000	6	11	3	6		
Total Estate						
$0-999	7	13	5	9		
$1,000-4999	9	17	12	22		
Over 5,000	14	26	7	13		
	30		24		54	100%

Table 9 Artisans and Business People: Vote and Absence of School Age Children

Artisans (N=63)

	Retain		Abolish	
	N	% of all voting	N	% of all voting
No school age children	13	21	22	35
Business (N=54)				
	19	35	16	30

Table 10. Distribution of Votes on High School Issue in Grammar District: Beverly, 1860

Variable	Vote to retain		Vote to abolish	
	Number	Proportion or mean of votes to retain	Number	Proportion or mean of votes to abolish
Professional and public employees	12	.1481	2	.0346
Gentlemen	0	0.	0	0
Sea Captains and Master Mariners	8	.0988	1	.0182
Business	19	.2346	10	.1818
Artisans	18	.2222	9	.1636
Farmers	0	0	1	.0182
Shoemakers	21	.2593	26	.4545
Mariner or Fisherman	2	.0247	5	.0909
Laborer or Farm laborer	0	0	1	.0182
Unknown	1	.0123	1	.0182
....				
Categories of Business				
Shoe manufacturer	3	.0370	5	.0909
Merchant or Trader	5	.0617	3	.0545
Proprietor of business	1	.0123	3	.0545
Business employee	3	.0370	0	0
Retail sales	6	.0741	3	.0545
House to house sales	1	.0123	0	0
Number	81		55	

(continued)

Table 10. Grammar District Vote - continued

Variable	Retain		Abolish	
Value of real estate		$2085.19		$1014.55
Value of personal estate		$2232.42		$ 654.00
Value of total estate		$5417.59		$1668.55
Value of real estate, $0-999	50	.6173	30	.5455
Value of real estate $1000-4,999	20	.2469	24	.4364
Value of real estate, $5000 up	11	.1358	1	.0182
Value of personal estate, $0-999	50	.6173	43	.7818
Value of personal estate,$1000-4,999	20	.2469	11	.2000
Value of personal estate, $5,000 up	11	.1358	1	.0182
Value of total estate, $0-999	35	.4321	25	.4545
Value of total estate, $1,000-4,999	27	.3333	26	.4727
Value of total estate, $5,000 up	19	.2346	4	.0727
No school age children	35	.4321	39	.7091
Number 12-17 in school		.3333		.1455
Number 12-17 not in school		.1481		.0909
Number children 5-11		.6914		.3818
Age		42.75		41.15

Table 11. Distribution of Vote on High School Issue, South District, Beverly: 1860

Variable	Retain #	Retain Prop./mean	Abolish #	Abolish Prop/mean
Professional and public employee	2	.0909	0	0
Gentleman	4	.1818	0	0
Sea Captain and Master Mariner	0	0	0	0
Business	9	.4091	7	.2593
-shoe manufacturer	0	0	1	.0370
-merchant	5	.2273	3	.1111
-proprietor	0	0	1	.0370
-employee	1	.0455	0	0
-retail sales	1	.0455	2	.0741
-house to house sales	2	.0909	0	0
Artisan	4	.1818	7	.2593
Farmer	1	.0455	3	.1111
Shoemaker	2	.0909	5	.1481
Mariner/Fisherman	0	0	2	.0741
Laborer/Farm laborer	0	0	4	.1481
Unknown	0	0	0	0
Real Estate		$2042.28		$1848.15
Personal Estate		$3263.64		$1274.07
Total Estate		$5305.92		$3122.22

Table 11. South District - continued

Variable	Retain #	Retain Prop./mean	Abolish #	Abolish Prop./mean
Real estate				
-$0-999	10	.4545	11	.4074
-$1000-4,999	8	.3636	12	.4444
-$5,000 up	4	.1818	4	.1481
Personal estate				
-$0-999	6	.2727	16	.5926
-$1,000-4,999	9	.4091	9	.3333
-$5,000 up	7	.3182	2	.0741
Total estate				
-$0-999	6	.2727	10	.3704
-$1,000-4,999	6	.2727	10	.3704
-$5,000 up	10	.4545	7	.2593
No children of school age	14	.6364	15	.5556
Number 12-17 in school		.1818		.2963
Number 12-17 not in school		.0455		.0370
Number children 5-11		.3636		.3333
Age		44.68		45.04
Number	22		27	

Table 12. Educational Statistics for Beverly, Massachusetts, 1840-65

	1840	1860	1865
Per pupil expenditure	1,79	5.71	5.69
Amount, in mills, per dollar of valuation raised for school support	1.71	3.01	2.08
Male Teachers' Salaries (monthly)	28.43	53.73	61.11
Female Teachers' Salaries (monthly)	9.00	17.52	18.10
Female Teachers as % of total teachers in winter	23	54	73

Bibliography

I. Note

In writing this study I have drawn on a variety of types of source material. The striking fact about the sources concerning the ideology of reform was their similarity; that is, wherever I looked the same arguments occured again and again. For the sections primarily concerned with ideology four kinds of sources were most useful: the reports of the secretaries of the Board of Education; local school reports, educational journals and miscellaneous pamphlets, books and speeches. The reports of the secretaries, especially those of Horace Mann, have been used by historians before, and they provide an excellent overview of theory and developments. Local school reports have been used too infrequently. Besides reflecting the general ideology of the movement, they provide vivid pictures of the problems encountered by school committees. However, these must be used with caution. They present only the school committees' views of developments and controversies, and more varied material is necessary to really begin to comprehend what is going on in a given town. The educational journals, the Common School Journal and the Massachusetts Teacher, scarcely have been touched by historians. They were generally edited by men prominent and experienced in educational affairs, and my impression is that most of the annonymous authors were practicing teachers. These journals provide an extraordinarily clear picture of leading pedagogical attitudes, and their reports tell what went on at teachers' institutes, conventions and other important educational gatherings. They are, really, a key source for the period.

From censuses of industry and population, state documents and school reports comes a wealth of statistical information, again mined most inadequately in the past. One question that immediately arises concerning these statistics is their accuracy. Probably they are not absolutely accurate, but they do reflect differences and trends that make minor inaccuracies unimportant. Indeed, since inaccuracies are random, the fact that statistically significant results are obtained in tests that use the figures indicates that they are generally correct, for inaccuracies would tend overall to lower the significance of the results.

A particularly valuable source of statistical information is the manuscript census, obtainable either in the Library of Congress or the Massachusetts State Archives. This provides some information, such as the number of church seats of various denominations and farming conditions, that was not tabulated in the published abstracts. As well, it provides a wealth of demographic and social information concerning individuals in specific towns and is essential for certain tasks, like analyzing a vote or determining the social composition of schools.

Writing local educational history is difficult often frustrating but ultimately rewarding. Local history provides the best way of determining the dynamics of reform and its results, and detailed local history is necessary to obtaining the data on which generalizations about the period can be based. The sources in communities vary. In this study the sections on communities reveal the differences in available source material. The richest cache was located in Beverly, whose historical society has a fine collection of unpublished material relating to local history. School reports, as I noted above, must be used with caution. In most communities local newspapers, read carefully and sensitively, provide a slightly different perspective and a corrective. However, local controversies often are not treated, or else they are touched on very lightly. In towns like Beverly, with one newspaper, the editor tried to offend no one; and his attempt to produce a non-partisan, "family" newspaper resulted in a cloying blandness. Nevertheless, relevant data can be mined by the patient reader. Town records for the most part are disappointing. They do provide a formal recording of important decisions, but they do not usually provide much clue to the nature of the process of decision making. However, the occasional treasure, like the recording of the names on the high school vote in Beverly, is reward enough for many fruitless days of searching. Where school registers have been preserved, they are a most useful source when used in conjunction with the manuscript census. Otherwise, the local historian must depend on chance and hope to find letters, diaries, school committee minutes and other miscellaneous sources.

The section of this study that deals with the reform school points up the value of institutional as well as local history in this period. Virtually no historian has studied the internal operations of institutions in Massachusetts during this period. For an overview of their history the reports of their superintendents and Boards of Trustees, supplemented by other state documents, are frequently excellent. Some of the controversies surrounding institutions are illuminated by the papers of leading reformers like Mann and Howe as well as by unpublished state documents, such as records of the governor's council and papers filed with the legislative acts in the state archives.

II. Sources

1. Primary Sources

A. Unpublished

Beverly Academy, Miscellaneous Papers, Beverly Historical Society.

Beverly, City of, "Tax List, 1860," Assessor's Office, Beverly City Hall.

----- "Town Records," 1826-1865, vs.10-12, Beverly City Hall.

Beverly School Committee, Minutes and other Records, 1826-1864, Beverly Historical Society.

Beverly, South District, School Register, 1865-66, Beverly Historical Society.

Boston School Committee, Records, 1844, 1845, Boston School Department Archives.

Channing, William Ellery, letter to Nathan Appleton, June 10, 1834, Appleton Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

"Chelsea High School Graduates Since 1858," Chelsea High School.

Green, Thomas, letter to Amos Lawrence, September 25, 1841, Lawrence Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Green, Joshua, letters to Amos Lawrence, April 19, 1841; March 4, 1843; December 2, 1843, Lawrence Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Groton School Department, School Registers, 1851-1865, Office of the Groton Superintendent of Schools.

Groton Town Records, v.7, 1836-1857; v.8, 1857-1875, Office of the Town Clerk of Groton.

Home, William, letter to Mr. Jones, Member of the Boston Primary School Committee, May 9, 1847, Boston Public Library.

Lapham, Alice G., "Material Relating to Beverly History," v.iv, no date, Beverly Historical Society.

Mann, Horace, letter to Cyrus Peirce, June 6, 1846, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mann, Horace, letter to J.A. Shaw, March 7, 1840, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Massachusetts, Commonwealth of, Acts and Resolves, Papers relating to, Reolves 1846, ch. 143, "For the Erection of a State Manual Labor School," and Acts, 1847, ch. 165, "An Act to Establish the State Reform School," Massachusetts State Archives.

----- Board of Education, Records, v.1, 1837-1863, Massachusetts Department of Education.

----- Manuscript Census for 1850 and 1860, Massachusetts State Archives.

Oliver, Henry Kemble, letter to Reverend Charles Brooks, Medford, December 2, 1848, Essex Institute.

----- Scrapbooks, 2v., Essex Institute.

Rantoul, Robert, "Address at the Opening of the New Town Hall," October 26, 1841, Beverly Historical Society.

----- "Autobiography," Beverly Historical Society.

----- "Lecture Delivered before the Beverly Union Temperance Society," May 12, 1835, Beverly Historical Society.

----- "Lecture on Economy," Read at Beverly Lyceum, December 8 and 15, 1836, Beverly Historical Society.

----- Miscellaneous Papers, Beverly Historical Society.

----- "On Monied Institutions," Lecture read to Beverly Lyceum, April 1, 1834, Beverly Historical Society.

----- "School Record Book from April, 1826, and Minutes Respecting Schools, v.2, Beginning March, 1847," Beverly Historical Society.

Rantoul,Robert S.,"Journal and Diary, 1848-1851," Essex Institute.

----- Miscellaneous Papers, Essex Institute.

Rantoul, Robert, Jr., Miscellaneous Papers, Essex Institute.

(Somerville High School Records) 1852-1864, v.1, Sommerville High School.

Storrow, Charles, letter to Horace Mann, February 8, 1848, Mann papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

White, Sara P., "School Record from Newbury Street Private School, Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1850," Essex Institute.

"(Woburn) High School Graduates, 1857-1888," Woburn High School.

B. Published

Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns for 1840-41, Boston, 1841.

An Account of the High School for Girls, Boston: with a Catalogue of the Scholars, February, 1826, Boston, 1826.

American Normal Schools: Their Theory, Their Workings and Their Results, as Embodied in the Proceedings of the American Normal School Association, Held at Trenton, New Jersey, August 19 and 20, 1859, New York, 1860.

Appleton, Nathan, *Introduction of the Power Loom and the Origin of Lowell*, Lowell, 1858.

Association of Masters of the (Boston) Public Schools, *Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Honorable Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education*, Boston, 1844.

----- *Rejoinder to the "Reply" of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education to the "Remarks" of the Association of Boston Masters Upon his Seventh Annual Report*, Boston, 1845.

Attleborough School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1856-1866.

Barnstable School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1854-1865.

Batchelder, Samuel, *Introduction and Early Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States*, Boston, 1863.

Bay State(Lynn), February-April, 1860.

Beverly Citizen, 1851-54 and 1858-1865(incomplete).

Bigelow, John P., Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Statistical Tables Exhibiting the Condition and Products of Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts for the Year Ending April 1,1837*, Boston, 1838.

Beverly School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1855-1865.

Boston, City of, *Houses of Industry and Reformation*, *City Document 14*, Boston, 1844.

----- *Report of the Standing Committee of the Common Council on the*

Subject of the House of Reformation for Juvenile Offenders, Boston, 1832.

(Boston School Committee) *Report of a Sub-Committee of the School Committee Recommending Various Improvements in the System of Instruction in the Grammar and Writing Schools of this City*, Boston, 1828.

Boston, Superintendent of Schools and School Committee, *Reports*(various titles) 1851-1865.

Boutwell, George, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs*. New York, 1902, v.1.

----- *Thoughts on Educational Topics and Institutions*. Boston, 1859.

Boyden, Albert, *Here and There in the Family Tree*, Salem, 1949.

Bridgewater School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1847-1865.

Brooks, Charles, *Two Lectures*: *I. History of the Introduction of State Normal Schools in America*. *II. A Prospective System of National Education for the United States*. Boston, 1864.

----- *A Lecture delivered before the American Institute of Instruction at Montpelier, Vt., Aug. 16, 1849, on The Duties of Legislatures in Relation to Public Schools in the United States*. Boston, 1850.

----- *On the Introduction of Natural History as a Regular Classic in Our Seminaries. An Address Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Portland, Me., August 31, 1844*. Boston, 1844.

----- *School Reform or Teachers' Seminaries. A Lecture Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Worcester, August 25, 1837*. Boston, 1837.

----- *Elementary Instruction. An Address delivered before the Schools and the Citizens of the Town of Quincy, July 4, 1837*. Quincy, 1837.

Brubacher, John S., ed., *Henry Barnard on Education*. New York, 1931.

Cambridge School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1847-1865.

Canton School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1845-1865.

Carter, James G., *Essays Upon Popular Education*. Boston, 1826.

Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students of Groton(*Lawrence*) *Academy*, 1836-1868.

Chatham School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1846-1865.

Combe, George, *Education*, edited by William Jolly, London, 1879.

Common School Journal, vs. 1-14, 1839-1852.

Dalton School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1858-1866.

Dartmouth School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1859-1866.

Davis, Emerson, *The Half-Century; or A History of Changes that Have Taken Place and Events That Have Transpired, Chiefly in the United States, Between 1800 and 1850*, Boston, 1851.

Debates and Proceedings in the Massachusetts Legislature, at the Session Which was Begun at the State House in Boston, on Wednesday the Second Day of January, and was Prorogued on Friday, the Sixth Day of June, 1856, Reported for the Boston Daily Advertiser, Boston,1856.

DeWitt, Francis, Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Abstract of the Census of the Census of. . .Massachusetts, 1855*, Boston, 1857.

----- *Statistical Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts for the Year Ending June 1, 1855*, Boston, 1856.

----- *Fourteenth Annual Report. . .of Births, Marriages and Deaths in Massachusetts for the Year, 1855*, Boston, 1857.

Douglas School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1859-1865.

East Bridgewater School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1849-1865.

(Emerson, George B.) *Observations on a Pamphlet Entitled "Remarks. . . ."*, Boston, 1844(?)

----- "The Schoolmaster," in Alonzo Potter and George B. Emerson, *The School and the Schoolmaster: a Manual for the use of Teachers, Employers, Trustees, Inspectors, etc.etc., of Common Schools, in Two Parts*., New York, 1842.

Fairhaven School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1843-1865.

Falmouth School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1853-1864.

Gardner School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1856-1865.

Groton Herald, 1828-1830(incomplete).

Groton Historical Series, ix, 1886.

Groton Mercury, 1851-1861(incomplete).

Groton School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1842-1865.

Harwich School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1859-1864.

(Jackson, Edmund and Bowditch, H.I.) *Report of the Minority of the Committee of the Caste Schools of the City of Boston*: *with Some Remarks on the City Solicitor's Opinion*, Boston, 1846.

Law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Providing for the Instruction of Youth, March 10, 1827 (pamphlet).

Lawrence American, 1855-1865(incomplete).

Lawrence Courier, 1853-1862(incomplete).

Lawrence Daily Journal, 1860.

Lawrence School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1848-1865.

Lawrence Sentinel, 1850-1865(incomplete).

Lawrence, William R., ed., *Extracts from the Diary and Correspondance of the late Amos Lawrence with a brief account of Some Incidents in his Life*, Boston, 1855.

Lincoln, "School Register for the High School (18)62-63", office of the Superintendent of Schools, Lincoln.

Lincoln School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1853-1864.

Loomis Silas L., *Record of the Holliston Academy*, *1836*-*1844*, Washington, D.C., 1876.

Lynn Weekly Reporter, February-April, 1860.

Mann, Horace, *Answer to the "Rejoinder" of Twenty-Nine Boston Schoolmasters, part of the 'Thirty-One' who Published 'Remarks" on the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education*, Boston, 1845.

----- *Lectures on Education*, Boston, 1845.

----- *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, Boston, 1867, 5 vols.

----- *The Massachusetts System of Common Schools*, Boston,1854.

-----*Reply to the "Remarks" of Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters on the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education*, Boston, 1844.

Massachusetts, Commonwealth of, Board of Education, *Reports of the Board and Secretaries*, 1-29, 1837-1865.

----- Board of State Charities, *Annual Report*, 1865 and 1866, published in both years as *Senate Document 19*.

----- General Court, House of Representatives, *House Document 5*, "Report of the Commissioners(re: establishment of a 'Seminary' of Practical Arts and Sciences')", Boston, January 11, 1827.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 10*("Select Committee Report and Bill Concerning a Seminary for Instruction of Schoolteachers, especially in reference to the memorial of James G. Carter"), January 17, 1827.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 16*, 1827 (list of Academies and Benefactions of State to them).

----- ----- ----- *House Document 29*,(Report of the Committee on Education), January 29, 1827.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 2*, 1830 (Census of 1830).

----- ----- ----- *House Document 22*,(re: applying funds from State to education in towns), June 14, 1831.

----- ----- -----*House Document 52*, "Report of the Committee on Education, on the Subject of Common Schools," 1832

----- ----- ----- *House Document 16*,"Report of Committee on School Fund," January 15, 1833.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 63* (re: purchase and distribution of Hall's *Lectures on School Keeping* to all districts) ,March 13,1833.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 40*(on paying school committees),1834.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 41*(Report of Committee on School Fund), 1834.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 40*(re: American Institute of Instruction), 1835.

----- ----- ----- *House Document 27*(re: memorial of American Institute of Instruction for appointment of a superintendent of the common schools), 1836.

----- ----- ----- House Document 49, "Report on the Education of Children in Manufacturing Establishments," March 17, 1836.

----- ----- ----- House Document 14, "Petition of a Convention of of Delegates from Plymouth and Norfolk on the Subject of Elementary Education," 1837.

----- ----- ----- House Document 49, "The Expediency of Abolishing the Board of Education and the Normal Schools," 1840.

----- ----- ----- House Document 127 (re: abolishing the Board of Education), 1860.

----- ----- Senate, Senate Document 20 (re: School Fund), January 8, 1829.

----- ----- ----- Senate Document 13 (Amount allowed for support of paupers in each town, 1826-1830), January 29, 1831.

----- ----- ----- Senate Document 38 (re: supporting Essex County Teachers Association), 1840.

----- ----- ----- Senate Document 86 (report of a special committee on the manual labor school and accompanying documents), March 17, 1846.

----- ----- ----- Senate Document 2, "Report of the Special Joint Committee Appointed to Investigate the Whole System of the Public Charitable Institutions of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts During the Recess of the Legislature in 1858," 1859.

----- Reports of the Superintendents and Board of Trustees of the State Reform School at Westborough, 1847-1865(various titles), also found in Senate and Public Documents.

The Massachusetts Teacher, vs. 1-18, 1848-1865.

Medway School Committee, Reports(various titles), 1854-1864.

Merrimac Courier, 1846-1847(incomplete).

Monson School Committee, Reports(various titles), 1850-1866.

Norton, Andrew, ed., The First State Normal School in America, The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift, Cambridge, 1926.

Oliver, Henry K., Lecture on Teachers' Morals and Manners, delivered before the American Institute of Instruction at Keene, New Hampshire, August, 1851, Boston, 1851.

Palfrey, John G., Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Statistics of the Condition and Products of Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts, for the Year Ending April 1, 1845*, Boston, 1846.

Parker, Theodore, *Collected Works*, Cobbe, Francis Power, ed., London, 1864, vs. vii-viii.

Provincetown School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1859-1865.

"Mr. Rantoul's Connexion with Town and Parochial Affairs - His Views on Religion," *The Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, vi, April, 1864, pp.79-92.

"Mr. Rantoul's Establishment in Business - Intemperance and Pauperism," in *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, v, December,1863, pp.241-247.

Rantoul, Robert, "Rantoul Geneology, etc.," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, v, August, 1863, pp. 145-152.

"Mr. Rantoul's Youth and Apprenticeship," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, v, October, 1863, pp. 193-195.

Rockport School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1855-1865.

Salem Gazette, 1826.

Salisbury School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1855-1865.

Scott, N.A., *A Plea for the Bible in the State Reform School, Westboro, A Farewell Discourse Delivered April 27, 1862*, Boston, 1862.

Scoresby, William, *American Factories and their Female Operatives (with Appendix by Amos A. Lawrence)*, Boston, 1845.

Services at the Inauguration of William E. Starr, esq., as Superintendent of the State Reform School at Westboro', January 15, 1857,Boston,1857.

Spofford, Jeremiah, *A Gazeteer of Massachusetts*, Newburyport, 1828.

Townsend School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1852-1865.

United States Census Office, *Sixth Census of Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States in 1840*, Washington, 1841.

Uxbridge School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1844-1865.

The Vanguard(Lawrence), September 2, 1848-September 11, 1848.

Warner, Oliver, Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Abstract of the Census of. . .Massachusetts,1865*, Boston, 1867.

----- *Census of Massachusetts, 1860, From the Eighth U.S. Census. . . .*, Boston, 1863.

----- *Statistical Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts for the Year Ending May 1, 1865*, Boston, 1866.

----- *Twenty-Fourth Report relating to the Registry and Return of Births, Marriages and Deaths. . .for. . .1865*, Boston,1867.

Washburn, Emory, *An Address at the Dedication of the State Reform School at Westborough, December 7, 1848*, Boston, 1849.

Watertown School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1847-1865.

Wayland, Francis, *The Elements of Moral Science*, ed. Joseph Blau, John Harvard Library edition, Cambridge, 1963.

Webster School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1853-1866.

Welfleet School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1859-1862.

Whightman, Joseph M., *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee, from its first establishment in 1818, to its dissolution in 1855*, Boston, 1860.

Williamstown School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1859-1865.

Winchendon School Committee, *Reports*(various titles, 1853-1865.

Leonard Withington)*Penitential Tears; or a Cry from the Dust by the "Thirty-One," Prostrated and Pulverized by the Hand of Horace Mann, Secretary, etc.*, Boston, 1845.

Wright, Carroll D., *The Census of Massachusetts: 1875*, Boston, 1876, vs.II andIII.

Yarmouth School Committee, *Reports*(various titles), 1859-1864.

2. Secondary Sources

Aronson, Sidney, H., *Status and Kinship in the Higher Civil Service, Standards of Selection in the Administrations of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson*, Cambridge, 1964.

Baritz, Loren, *City on a Hill, A History of Ideas and Myths in America*, New York, 1964.

Benson, Lee, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case*, Princeton, 1961.

Bidwell, Percy Wells, "The Agricultural Revolution in New England," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI, 4, July, 1921, pp.683-702.

----- "Population Growth in Southern New England," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, New Series, No. 120, December, 1917.

Birdsall, Richard D., *Berkshire County: A Cultural History*, New Haven,1959.

Bishop, J. Leander, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, vs. ii and iii, Philadelphia, 1866.

Bodo, J.R., *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1845*, Princeton, 1954.

Bode, Carl, *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959.

Bolster, Arthur S., Jr., *James Freeman Clarke: Disciple to Advancing Truth*, Boston, 1954.

Brauner, Charles J., *American Educational Theory*,Englewood Cliffs, N. J., esp. pp. 36-48.

Brehm, Jack W., and Cohen, Arthur R., *Explorations in Cognitive Dissonannce*, New York, 1962.

Bremner, Robert H., *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the* United States, New York, 1956,

Brown, E.E., *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, New York, 1905.

Brown, Norman O., *Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytic Meaning of History*, Wesleyan, 1959.

Brown, Roger, "Models of Attitude Change," in Roger Brown, Eugene Galanter, Eckhard H. Hess, George Mandler, *New Directions in Psychology*, New Y ork, 1962, pp. 1-85.

Bullock, Charles C., *Historical Sketch of the Finances and Financial Policy of Massachusetts from 1780-1905*, New York, 1905.

Calhoun, Daniel H., *Professional Lives in America, Structure and Aspiration 1750-1850*, Cambridge, 1965.

Carlton, Frank Tracy, *Economic Influences upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850*, Madison, 1908.

Clark, Victor S., *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860*, Washington, 1916.

Cochran, Thomas, "Business Organization and the Development of an Industrial Discipline," in Harold F. Williamson, ed., *The Growth of the American Economy: An Introduction to the Economic History of the United States*, New York, 1944, pp.303-318.

----- The Inner Revolution, *Essays on the Social Sciences in History*, New York, 1964.

Cole, C.C., Jr., *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evanelists, 1826-1860*, New York, 1954.

Cole, Donald B., *Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921*, Chapel Hill, 1963.

Coleman, Peter J., *The Transformation of Rhode Island, 1790-1860*, Providence, 1963.

Commons, John R., "American Shoemakers, 1648-1895: A Sketch of Industrial Evolution," Quarterly Journal of Economics, xxiv, November, 1919, pp. 39-84.

Conant, James Bryant, *Slums and Suburbs*, New York, 1961.

Connolly, Mary Ann, "The Boston Schools in the New Republic, 1776-1840," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1963.

Cooley, William W., and Lohnes, Paul R., *Multivariate Procedures for the Behavioral Sciences*, New York, 1962, pp. 151-172.

Cremin, Lawrence, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception*, New York, 1951.

----- *The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*, New York, 1961.

Culver, Raymond, *Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools*, New Haven, 1929.

Dain, Norman, *Concepts of Insanity in the United States, 1790-1860*, New Brunswick(New Jersey), 1964.

Darling, Arthur, *Political Change in Massachusetts, 1824-1868*, New Haven, 1925.

Davies, John, *Phrenology: Fad and Science, a Nineteenth Century American Crusade*, New Haven, 1955.

Davis, David Brion, *Homicide in American Fiction, 1798-1860: A Study in Social Values*, Ithaca, 1957.

Donald, David, "Toward a Reconsideration of the Abolitionists," and "An Excess of Democracy," in *Lincoln Reconsidered*, New York, 1947.

Dorgan, Maurice B., *History of Lawrence, Massachusetts, with War Records*, published by the author, 1924.

Dudden, Arthur P., "Nostalgia and the Americans," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xxii, 4, October-December, 1961, pp.515-530.

Dunton, Larkin, *Memorial of the Life and Services of John Philbrick*, Boston, 1888.

Ekrich, Arthur Alphonse, *The Idea of Progress in America,1815-1860*, New York, 1944.

Elson, Ruth Miller,*Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century*. Lincoln(Nebraska), 1964.

Essex Institute Historical Collections, v.XCV, April, 1959, No.2.(Centennial Issue, 1859-1959).

Eversley, D.E.C., *Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate*, Oxford, 1959.

Faulkner, Harold U., "Political History of Massachusetts, 1829-1851," in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, v.4, pp.74-102.

Festinger, Leon, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Evanston, 1957.

Gates, Paul W., The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860, New York,1960.

Gill, Richard T., *Economic Development: Past and Present*, Englewood Cliffs(N.J.), 1963.

Goodman, Paul, *Compulsory Mis-education*, New York, 1964.

Green, Constance, Holyoke, Massachusetts, New Haven, 1939.

Green, Samuel A., *An Historical Sketch of Groton, Massachusetts, 1655-1890*, Groton, 1894.

Griffin, Clifford S., "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815-1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 44, December, 1957, pp.423-444.

----- *Their Brothers' Keepers, Moral Stewardship in the United States*, 1800-1865, New Brunswick, 1960.

Grizzell, Emit Duncan, *Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865*, Philadelphia, 1922.

Guilford, J.P. , *Psychometric Methods*, New York, 1954, pp. 470-535.

Handlin, Oscar, *Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation*, revised edition, Cambridge, 1959.

----- and Handlin, Mary Flugg, *Commonwealth, A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy, Massachusetts,1774-1861*, New York, 1947.

----- "The Horror," in *Race and Nationality in American Life*, Boston, 1950.

Harbison, Frederick, and Myers, Charles A., *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development*, New York, 1964 .

Hazard, Blanche, *Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875*, Cambridge, 1921.

Herzog, John D., "Deliberate Instruction and Household Structure," *Harvard Educational Review*, xxxii,3,Summer, 1962, pp. 301-342.

Higgins, Benjamin, *Economic Development, Principles, Problems and Policies*, New York, 1959.

Hill, Hamilton Andrews, *Memoir of Abbott Lawrence*, Boston, 1884.

Hinsdale, B.A., *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States*, New York, 1913.

Houghton, Walter, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, New Haven, 1957.

Hovey, Alvah, *Barnas Sears: A Christian Educator, His Making and His Work*, Boston, 1902.

Hugins, Walter, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class*, Stanford, 1960.

Inglis, Alexander James, *The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts*, New York, 1911.

Jones, Jesse H., "Henry Kemble Oliver," in Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, March, 1886*, Boston, 1886, pp.3-47.

Jones, Kenneth, *The Multivariate Statistical Analyzer*, n.p., 1964, revised edition.

Josephson, Hannah, G., *The Golden Threads, New England's Mill Girls and Magnates*, New York, 1949.

Kelso, Robert W., *The History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620-1920*, Boston, 1922.

Kirkland, Edward C., *Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900*, 2vols., Cambridge, 1948.

Krug, Edward A., *The Shaping of the American High School*, New York, 1964.

Langsam, Miriam Z., *Children West, A History of the Placing-Out System of the New York Children's Aid Society, 1853-1890*, Madison, 1960.

Lewis, Alonzo, and Newhall, James R., *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant*, Boston, 1865.

Lewis, W. David, *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848*, Ithaca, 1965.

Livermore, Shaw, Jr., *The Twighlight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830*, Princeton, 1962.

Lovett, Robert W., "From Social Library to Public Library: A Century of Library Development in Beverly, Massachusetts," in *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, lxxxviii, July, 1952, pp.219-253.

----- "Squire Rantoul and his Drug Store, 1796-1824," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, xxv, 2, June, 1951, pp.99-114.

Lubove, Roy, The Professional Altruist, *The Emergence of Social Work as a Career*, Cambridge, 1965.

McKelvey, Blake, *American Prisons. A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915*, Chicago, 1936.

McClelland, David C., *The Achieving Society*, Princeton, 1961.

MacIver, R.M., *Social Causation*, New York, 1942/

Mannheim, Karl, *Ideology and Utopia*, first published 1936, Harvest Books edition, 1963.

Marcuse, Herbert, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud*, Boston, 1955.

Martin, Edgar, W., *The Standard of Living in 1860*, Chicago, 1942.

Martin, George, *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*. New York, 1894.

Marx, Leo, *The Machine in the Garden. Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, New York, 1964.

Massachusetts, Commonwealth of, Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Historical Data Relating to Cities and Towns in Massachusetts*, Boston, 1920.

May, Samuel J., "Memoir of Cyrus Peirce," *The American Journal of Education*, iv, 2, December, 1857, pp. 275-308.

Merk, Frederick, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History, A Reinterpretation*, New York, 1963.

Messerli, Jonathan C., "Horace Mann: The Early Years, 1796-1837," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1963.

----- "James G. Carter's Liabilities as a Common School Reformer," *History of Education Quarterly*, v,1, March, 1965, pp.14-25.

----- "Localism and State Control in Horace Mann's Reform of the Common Schools," *American Quarterly*, xvii, 1, Spring, 1965, pp.104-118.

Meyers, Marvin, *The Jacksonian Persuasion*, Stanford, 1957.

Middlekauff, Robert, *Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth Century New England*, New Haven, 1963.

Morison, Samuel Eliot, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, Cambridge, 1921.

Ober, Frederick A., "Beverly," in Hurd, Hamilto D., ed., *History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, Philadelphia, 1888, v.1, pp. 674-769.

Owen, David, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960*, Cambridge, 1960, pp.91-208.

Pearson, Henry G., "George Boutwell," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, v.ii, pp.489-490.

Perrin, John William, *The History of Compulsory Education in New England*, Meadville(Pennsylvania), 1896.

Persons, Charles, "The Early History of Factory Legislation in Massachusetts," in Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *Labor Laws and Their Enforcement*, New York, 1911, pp.1-129.

Peterson, George E., *The New England College in the Age of the University*, Amherst, 1964.

Peterson, Merle D., *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, New York, 1960.

Philbrick, John D., "Thomas Sherwin," *Education*, I,4, March 1881, pp. 388-392.

Polanyi, Karl, *The Great Transformation, The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, New York, 1944.

Potter, David, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*, Chicago, 1954.

Rantoul, Robert S., "The First Cotton Mill in America," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, xxxiii, January-June, 1897, pp.1-43.

----- "Some Material for a History of the Name and Family of Rentoul - Rintoul - Rantoul," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, xxi, October-November-December, 1884, pp.241-268.

Richter, Melvin, *The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and His Age*, Cambridge, 1964.

Riessman, Leonard, *The Urban Process*, Glencoe, 1964.

Roberts, David, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, New Haven, 1960.

Rude, George, *The Crowd in History, 1730-1848*, New York, 1964.

Rudolph, Frederick, *Mark Hopkins and the Log: Williams College, 1836-1872*, New Haven, 1956.

Samuelsson, Kurt, *Religion and Economic Action, A Critique of Max Weber*, first published in Sweden in 1957, Harper Torchbooks edition, 1964.

Sanford, Charles L., "The Intellectual Origins and New Worldliness of American Industry," *The Journal of Economic History*, 18, 1958, pp.1-16.

Saunders, Edith, *The First Hundred Years of Grace Church*, Lawrence,1946.

Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., *The Age of Jackson*, Boston, 1950.

Shlakman, Vera, *Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts*, Northhampton, 1936.

Schwartz, Harold, *Samuel Gridley Howe, Social Reformer, 1801-1876*, Cambridge, 1956.

Shultz, Theodore, "Education and Economic Growth," in Henry B. Nelson, ed., *Social Forces Influencing American Education*, Chicago, 1961.

Sjoberg, Gideon, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present*, Glencoe,1960.

Smith, J.E.A., *The Public School System of the Town of Pittsfield, Reviewed from 1761 to 1880*, Pittsfield, 1880.

Smith, Timothy L., *Revivalism and Social Reform*, New York and Nashville,1958.

Smith, Wilson, *Professors and Public Ethics: Studies of Northern Moral Philosophers before the Civil War*, Ithaca, 1956.

Stone, Edwin M., *History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from its Settlement in 1630 to 1842*, Boston, 1843.

Taylor, George Rogers, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860*, New York, 1951.

Taylor, William R., *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character*, New York, 1961.

Thernstrom, Stephan, Poverty and Progress: *Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*, Cambridge, 1964.

Thompson, E.P., The Making of the English Working Class, American edition, New York, 1964.

Thurstone, I.L., Multiple-Factor Analysis, A Development and Expansion of the Vectors of the Mind, Chicago, 1947, pp.51-67.

A Tribute to the Memory of Joseph White, n.p., n.d.

United States Bureau of Education, Truant Schools(Chapter III of the report of the Commissioner of Education), Washington, 1901.

Wade, Richard C., The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1780-1830, Cambridge, 1959.

Wadsworth, A.H., Quarter-Centenial History of Lawrence, Massachusetts with Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Ex-Mayors, The Background of Mayor and Alderman for the Present Year, Other Leading Officials, and a Representation of Business and Professional Men, Lawrence,1878.

Ware, Caroline, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings, Cambridge, 1931.

Ware, Edith, Political Opinion in Massachusetts During the Civil War and Reconstruction, New York, 1916.

Waterston, Robert C., Memoir of George Barrell Emerson, Cambridge, 1884.

Welter, Rush, Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America, New York, 1962.

West, Earle Huddleston, The Life and Educational Contributions of Barnas Sears, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1961.

Zobel, Deborah Bethel, "Doctor Despite Himself: The Life of Augustus Torrey,1805-1880," Essex Institute Historical Collections, xcv,3, pp.199-238 and xcv,4,1959, pp. 271-312.

Vita

1957-1961	Harvard College	B.A. 1961, History and Literature
1961-1962	Harvard Graduate School of Education	M.A.T., 1962, Social Studies
1962	Intern Teacher,Winchester High School	
1962 (summer)	Playschool Director, Cambridge Neighborhood House	
1962-1963	England: Frank Knox Traveling Fellowship	
1963-1966	Harvard Graduate School of Education	Candidate for the Ed.D. in history and philosophy of education
1963 (summer)	Playschool Director, Cambridge Neighborhood House	
1963-1965	Teaching Fellow in Education, Harvard	
1964-1965	Research Assistant in Education, Harvard	
	Member, Editorial Board, Harvard Educational Review	
1965-1966	Instructor and Research Associate in Education, Harvard	

Publications:

"From Bryce to Newsom: Assumptions of British Educational Reports," International Review of Education, XI, 3, 1965, pp.287-304.

"From Theory to Survey in Graduate Schools of Education," forthcoming, Journal of Higher Education.

"Education," Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook for 1965.

Review of Brian Simon, "Education and the Labour Movement,1870-1918, forthcoming, Harvard Educational Review, Spring, 1966.